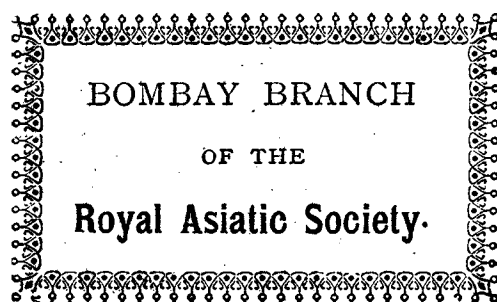




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HISTORY OF ROME
AND
THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

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ILLUSTRATED WITH ABOUT 2500 ENGRAVINGS, 100 MAPS AND PLANS, AND
NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME I.—PART II.

(PRIMITIVE HISTORY TO THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR),

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CHAPTER XII.

ACCESSION OF THE PLEBEIANS TO CURULE OFFICES.

I.—THE LICINIAN LAWS ; DIVISION OF THE CONSULSHIPS.

WHILE Rome was making such persevering efforts to re-establish her power without, within the city the tribunes continued the struggle against the patriciate. As it had been a century earlier, so now debts were the cause of new dissensions. The land-tax being the principal revenue of the State, the misfortunes of war, especially when it drew near to Rome, had the double result of obliging the treasury to make greater demands on property and of diminishing at the same time the value of the land and its produce. The tax became heavier, and the resources which served to pay it smaller. Hence came debts, as numerous after the Gallic invasion, as they had been after the royal wars, and the two revolutions which they occasioned ; the one giving rise to the tribuneship, the other which resulted in the sharing of the curule offices.

In 389 B.C. it became necessary to rebuild the burned town. Doubtless the house of a plebeian cost but little to reconstruct. But whence was a man who had lost everything, furniture and flocks, to draw the means of getting his little field under cultivation again, sheltering his family, buying a few cattle and paying the war tax, the tax for the Capitol,¹ the tax for re-building the temples and walls, unless he drew it from his patron's purse ? The *assignments* made to the plebeians on the territory of Veii had been another cause of borrowing. As the State only gave the

¹ New constructions were erected there to render it inaccessible from the Tiber, on which side it had been considered, until the Gallic invasion, that the river sufficiently defended the approaches.

land, it was often necessary for some rich man to advance the funds for the agricultural implements, flocks and seeds necessary to stock the seven *jugera*. But the rate of interest was heavy, the creditor pitiless: the *ergastula* were again crowded; Camillus himself was distinguished for his cruelty.

Here we come upon an obscure story. Livy, the unconscious but constant echo of patrician hatred, relates that Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, jealous of the glory of Camillus, and irritated at being overlooked in the distribution of offices, constituted himself the patron of the poor and delivered as many as four hundred debtors from prison. Every day the crowd increased around him and his house on the Capitol. "The great oppress and ruin you," he urged, "not satisfied with appropriating the State lands, they embezzle the public money; they are hiding the money recaptured from the Gauls, and while you are exhausting your last resources in restoring to the temples their treasures, they reserve for their pleasures the money which they receive for a sacred work." Against him as much as against the Volscians a dictator was appointed, Cornelius Cossus, who on his return from the campaign, cast him into prison. A *senatus-consultum* having restored him to liberty, two tribunes, won over by the patricians, or themselves jealous of his popularity, accused him of high treason. In the *comitia centuriata* Manlius recalled his exploits, he displayed the arms of thirty enemies slain by him, eight civic crowns, thirty-two military rewards, the wounds which covered his breast, and the Capitol which he had saved! This sight, these words excited the compassion of the people, and he would have been acquitted, when—the assembly was broken up and the judgment deferred till another day. In a meeting of the people held in a place whence the citadel of Rome could not be perceived, or according to others by the sentence of the *Duumvirs*,¹ he was condemned to death. By Dion's account Manlius having occupied the Capitol with his partisans, was precipitated from the Tarpeian rock by a traitor whom he trusted.² His house on the Capitol was razed to the ground,

¹ *Duumviri perduellionis*.

² See page 221.

it was forbidden for any one to ever build on that hill, and the *gens Manlia* decided that none of its members should henceforth bear the prænomen of *Marcus* (384).¹

Manlius, who shared the fate of Cassius and Mælius, must have been sacrificed like them to the hatred of the nobles,² but he was doubtless only a vulgar agitator: C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius were true reformers. They were rich and noble plebeians, to whom the equality of the two orders through the military tribuneship only appeared a political lie: from 400 to 367 B.C. there had been only fifteen plebeians elected to the military tribuneship. Livy, who like so many other historians³ is fond of assigning great events to small causes,³ relates "that a senator, Fabius Ambustus had married the elder of his two daughters to the patrician Serv. Sulpicius, and the second to a rich plebeian, Licinius Stolo. One day the two sisters were conversing in the house of Sulpicius, when he, at that time military tribune, returned from the Forum preceded by his lictor, who, according to custom, knocked at the door with his rod. At this noise the young Fabia grew disturbed, then she expressed astonishment at the numerous retinue which followed the tribune. The elder laughed at both her astonishment and ignorance, and her raillery showed the wide gulf placed between her and her sister by marriage, which had led the latter into a house wherein honours could never enter. Fabia was so hurt by this, that her father noticed her vexation, and promised her that she should one day see in her own home the dignities which she had seen at her sisters. From that time he began to concert plans with his son-in-law and another young man of strong energy, L. Sextius.

It is a pretty incident; Livy is never loth to scatter a few flowers through the severe history of the least romantic of nations; and we do the same, but without any belief in them. The young Fabia had often at her father's home or at the houses of family friends heard the lictor's knock, and had often seen the retinue which always followed magistrates and persons of importance.

¹ Livy, vi. 14—20.

² . . . inimicorum oppressus factione (Serv., in *Æn.*, viii. 652).

³ *Parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit.* (Livy vi. 34).

Nothing of all this could have surprised her then, and she well knew, in marrying Licinius, in what condition that plebeian would place her. The revolution which was preparing no more arose from the jealousy of a woman, than the Trojan war was caused by the abduction of Helen; it was the last act of a struggle carried on for one hundred and twenty years, and which had never stayed its course for one single day.

Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, being appointed tribunes of the people in 376 B.C., formally demanded the division of the consulship, and in order to compel the plebeians to take an interest in this question, they presented the following resolutions:—

In future no more military tribunes shall be appointed, but two consuls, of whom one must always be a plebeian. No one shall possess more than 500 *jugera* (about 312 acres) of public land. Interest already paid shall be deducted from the principal, and the remainder shall be repaid in three years by equal instalments.¹

The moment for the final struggle had then arrived. It was worthy of its earlier stages. There was no useless violence, but on both sides admirable perseverance. For ten successive years the tribunes obtained their re-election. In vain did the senate gain over their colleagues, whose veto suspended their action, and in vain did they twice have recourse to the dictatorship. Camillus, threatened with a heavy fine, and perhaps with a second exile in his old age, abdicated, and Manlius, when proclaimed after him, chose a plebeian, Licinius Calvus, as Master of the Horse. The sanctity of religion was employed as a means of opposition to the tribunes; there was not a plebeian in the priesthood.

In order to destroy this movement and avert the intervention of the gods which the senators would have claimed to read in the oracles of the Sibyl, they added this fourth rogation, which the senate accepted in order to invest its own side with an appearance of justice: "Instead of *duumvirs* for the Sibylline books, *decenvirs* shall in future be appointed, of whom five shall be plebeians."

The people, however, wearied with such prolonged debates,

¹ Livy vi. 35: Colum., i. 3. Dionys. viii. 73.

were on the point of betraying their own cause; they no longer demanded more than the two laws concerning debts and land, which the patricians were disposed to yield. But the tribunes declared the three propositions inseparable; they must be adopted or rejected together. The comitia of tribes voted for them, the senate accepted them, and the centuries proclaimed Lucius Sextius one of the two tribunes, consul. In their curiæ the patricians refused the *imperium* to the plebeian consul, and the battle, which was on the point of ending, began again more fiercely than ever. The details of this last struggle are little known. There is vague mention of terrible threats, and of a new secession of the people. Camillus interposed. He had just won his last victory over the Gauls; five times dictator, seven times military tribune, full of glory and honours, he desired a repose worthy of his sixty years of service. Won over by his counsel and example, the senators yielded, the election of Sextius was ratified, and Camillus, closing the age of revolutions for a century and a half, vowed a temple to Concord (366 B.C.).¹

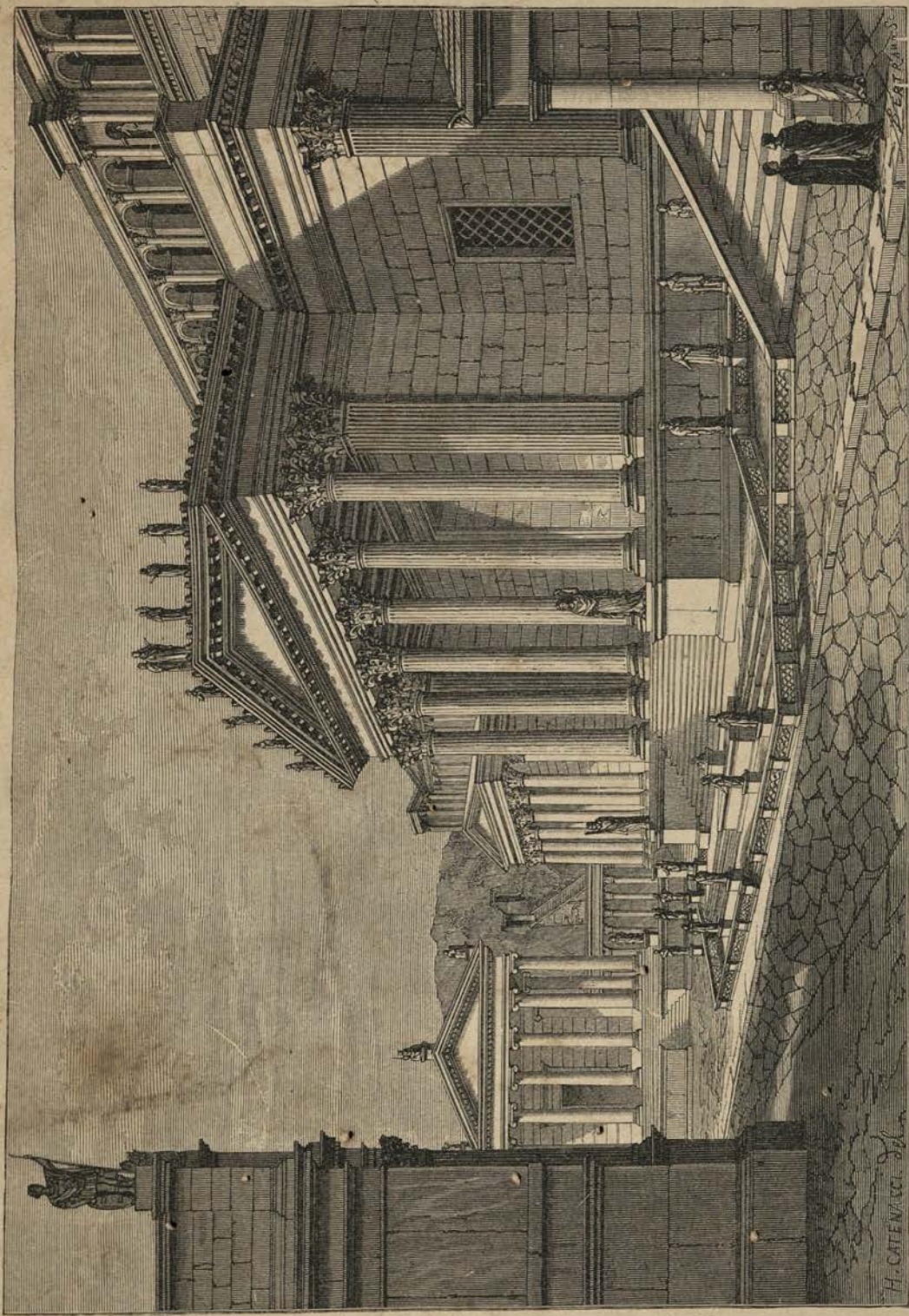
The gates of the political city, then, were at last forced; the plebeians now in turn take their seat on the curule chair. In token of the admission of these new comers into the real Roman people, there was added to the three festal days of the great games held in honour of the three ancient tribes, a fourth day for the plebeians.²

II.—THE PLEBEIANS GAIN ADMISSION TO ALL OFFICES.

The adoption of the Licinian laws marks a new era in the history of the republic. But were these laws faithfully observed, and what were the consequences to the great, to the populace, and to the fortune of Rome? These are the questions which

¹ The magnificent ruins which still remain of the Temple of Concord do not belong to the edifice erected by Camillus, which appears to have been built at the Capitol (Ovid, *Fast.*, i. 637.), and of which nothing is left, nor to that of Flavius, which, according to Pliny (xxxiii. 6, 8), was only a bronze chapel raised on the Vulcanal, above the comitium; they formed part of a temple of Concord of which mention is often made in the last days of the republic, and which was situated at the foot of the *Tabularium*.

² Dionys., vii. 41.



Temple of Concord (restoration of Canina).

we are about to examine; separating, for greater clearness, the political laws from social, or such as related to debts and property.

The patricians never frankly accepted popular victories. On the morrow of their defeat they began again disputing step by step the ground they had lost on the preceding day, multiplying obstacles in order to put off the evil day, when the equality which they looked upon as sacrilege must be finally achieved. This time they yielded the consulship itself, but the consulship dismembered. Two new patrician magistracies were, in fact, created at its expense, the *prætorship*, for the administration of justice, the formulæ of which were unknown to the plebeians, and the *curule ædileship*,¹ for the city police (366). Class interest was, for this once, in accord with public interest. The patricians gave their own order three new offices, but they gave the republic three necessary magistracies.

The great pre-occupation of modern governments is or ought to be to protect the fortune and life of citizens, to develop instruction and commerce, to diminish misery and vice. The Romans of the early times had no such cares; they considered their task ended, when they had provided for internal peace and the security of the frontiers. The rest concerned, only individuals. The Romans of the time of which we are now speaking, began to understand that their public edifices, as they multiplied, required a supervision that might be exercised in the interests of the treasury, that the city as it grew larger needed a street police to prevent fires, markets to prevent fraud, baths, taverns, and [licensed] places of evil resort to prevent street brawls. Finally, in times of scarcity it was necessary to buy wheat abroad, and sell it to the people at a low price.² The plebeian ædiles no longer sufficed for this work, and it was well to double their number. "The senate having decreed," says Livy, "that in order to thank the Gods for the re-establishment of concord between the plebs and the patriciate

¹....*Quod pro consule uno plebeio tres patricios magistratus...nobilitas sibi sumpsisset* (Livy, vii. 1). The curule ædileship formed a college composed, like the plebeian ædileship, of two members; at first there was only one prætor.

² Cicero (*de Leg.*, iii. 3), names the ædiles: *Curatores urbis, annonæ, ludorumque solennium*.

a fourth day should be added to the Roman games, the plebeian ædiles refused to sanction this expenditure, and in order to avoid the omission of this honour towards the immortal gods, some young nobles offered to take the expense upon themselves, on condition that they should be appointed ædiles.¹ Here again we find anecdote taking the place of history. We have just seen the serious reasons which led to this creation. Moreover, the new magistracy became almost immediately common to the two orders.

The prætorship was in like manner a necessary duplicate of the consulship. As the State became greater, more frequent and more distant wars left the first magistrates of the republic but little time to occupy themselves with civil justice, and the recent agrarian law of Licinius Stolo was sure to multiply law suits to an extraordinary degree. Although the division of power was not a very Roman idea, men saw the utility of ensuring the regular course of justice by always having at Rome a magistrate charged with its administration, to supplement the absent consul. In order to mark the subordinate character of the prætor, only six lictors were allowed him;² but he was elected like the consul in the comitia centuriata and with the same auspices; he presided, in the consul's absence, at the meetings of the people and the senate, and the *imperium*, which he possessed from the outset, allowed him in later times to assume the functions of leader of the army and of provincial governor. His judicial competence was summed up in three words; *Do*, I give the judge and the mode of procedure; *Dico*, I declare the right; *Addico*, I adjudge the object of the suit. On his entry into office the prætor gradually fell into the habit of publishing an edict, in which he indicated the rules of jurisprudence which he intended to follow; we shall see that this *edictum prætorium* by degrees transformed all the Roman legislation.

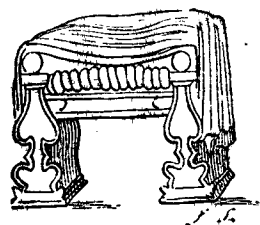
So much good resulted from this institution that twenty years later there was appointed a second prætor for disputes between citizens and foreigners, the *prætor peregrinus*. He must,

¹ Livy vi. 42; vii. 1. . . . *postea promiscuum fuit*.

² There were two prætors in 342 B.C., four in 227, six in 197, eight under Sulla. We shall see later the reasons for these different augmentations.

by reason of his office, be versed in foreign customs, *jus gentium*, as well as national usages, *jus civile*, and his edicts prepared the way for the fusion of these rights. Rome possessed then, from this time forth, the two workmen who were slowly collecting the numberless materials wherewith the juris-consults were to construct the magnificent monument of the *Pandects*.

The consuls retained the command of the armies, the presidency of the senate and the raising of troops. These were still too high prerogatives for the patricians not to seek to recover them. The dictatorship was left them; they made use of it either to preside over the comitia and influence the election of consuls, or to snatch from a plebeian general the honours of a successful war. Between 363 and 344, a period of only twenty years, there were fourteen dictators.



Seat for a *lectisternium*.¹

The one who stood at the head of this long list was Manlius Imperiosus. The plague was raging with murderous intensity and had carried off Camillus; the Tiber overflowed its banks; an earthquake had opened in the midst of the Forum an abyss into which Curtius is said to have leaped fully armed. In order to appease the angry gods, new games, drawn from Etruria, had been celebrated, mingled with songs and dances to the sound of the flute; then the statues of the great gods had been laid on beds and invited, as a pledge of reconciliation, to a sacred banquet (*lectisternium*). Manlius having been appointed dictator in order to drive the sacred nail into the temple of Jupiter, refused, when the ceremony was ended, to resign his powers; he retained his twenty-four lictors and announced a levy against the Hernicans. This prolonged suspension of the consular power coincided too well with the views of the senate, which was ready to respect the dictatorial power under such circumstances. But the tribune Pomponius accused the dictator. Among other grievances he reproached him with his conduct towards his own son, banished from the domestic penates, exiled to the fields and condemned to servile labours. "This Son of a dictator

¹ Marble seat, preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich, on which was placed the statue of a god in the ceremony of the *lectisternium*.

learnt, by a daily punishment, that he was born of a father worthy of his surname (*Imperiosus*). And what was his crime? He had a difficulty in expressing himself. Instead of correcting this natural defect by education, Manlius aggravates the evil; he retards still further this dull spirit, and whatever vivacity and intelligence remain to his son will be extinguished by the rustic habits which he imposes on him." A singular reproach in the mouth of a tribune! But every kind of weapon was employed. Moreover the Romans, like the English of our own day, were proud of their nobility, and were unwilling that any young patrician should be brought up in a manner unworthy of his birth.

While all the people were indignant with Manlius, the victim, grieved at being a subject of prosecution to his father, conceived a project which set an example, to be commended indeed, but not without danger in a free city. Unknown to any one, with a dagger hidden under his robe, he came to the house of Pomponius one morning, gave his name, and insisted on being admitted. Everyone retired in order to leave him alone with the tribune. Then he drew his dagger, and threatened to stab Pomponius, who was still in bed, unless he swore, in terms which he dictated to him, "never to convoke an assembly of the people to accuse the dictator. The tribune, finding himself at the mercy of an armed man, young and powerful, grew frightened, and repeated the oath imposed on him. The people were dissatisfied to see their victim escape, but they willingly rewarded the young man's filial piety by appointing him legionary tribune."¹ The chiefs of the plebs, who knew how to profit not only by their hatred, but by their affections, seized this opportunity to claim for the comitia the nomination of six of those officers (362 B.C.).

Four times more, in the four following years, the senate had recourse to the dictatorship. But this supreme office was itself invaded. In 356² the danger of the war against the Etruscans caused the

¹ Livy, vii. 4, 5.

² The preceding year was marked by the establishment of a tax of 5 per cent. on enfranchisements. This tax was established in connection with Privernian prisoners, released on ransom by the soldiers of the consul Marcius. His colleague, Manlius, had caused it to be voted by the army encamped near Sutrium. The tribunes accepted the law, but instituted the punishment of death for any one who should renew this dangerous precedent of calling on his army to discuss public affairs. (Livy, vii. 16.) Let us notice that this tax must be paid in gold, and

proclamation of Marcius Rutilus, one of the most illustrious plebeians, as dictator, who four years later also became the first censor of his order.

The plebeian consulship was the door as it were, which gave access to the sanctuary. The patricians tried to close it; from 355 to 341 they managed to have the two consuls taken from their ranks on seven occasions. Three years earlier the Poetelian law had forbidden canvassing (*ambitus*), in order to diminish the chances of success of new men, who, being little known among the rural tribes, travelled through the country soliciting votes (358). Yet the plebeian consulship had not been the reward of the seditious or of demagogues. Licinius and Sextius were only once honoured with this office, and for a long time after them no tribune succeeded in obtaining it, for in order to restrict the number of consular plebeians, the patricians combined in favour of the same candidates, preferring to see the same men consul four times rather than the consulship be given to four new men.¹ In twenty-seven years they had permitted only eight plebeians to arrive at the consulship. Even this was much. What did the ability of Marcius and Popilius matter? Could their services efface the stain of their birth? This imprudent attempt on the part of the patricians completed their defeat. The rich plebeian families grew angry at being deprived of what the perseverance of Licinius had gained for them. As for the poor, ruined then as always by usury, they were then as always, disposed to insurrection.

After the first Samnite war the Romans had placed a garrison at Capua. In that lovely country the legionaries remembered the creditors who awaited them at Rome, and also the means employed by the Samnites twenty-four years before to obtain possession of the town, when, having been received by the Campanians as friends, they had one feast-day fallen upon them unarmed and butchered them all. The plot was discovered. To avert the execution of it, the consul Marcius Rutilus sent the soldiers away

all lodged in the treasury, where it constituted a reserve fund which it was forbidden to touch, save in cases of extreme necessity.

¹ Marcius and Popilius were four times consuls, Plautius and Genucius three times, etc. It seems, too, that a single magistrate might unite several offices. (See next page.)

by cohorts. But they reassembled at the defiles of Lautulæ, *passo di Portella*, a narrow pass between the sea and the mountains, which it was necessary to traverse in going from Fundi to Terracina, that is to say from Campania into Latium.¹ When their bands reached the proportions of an army, they marched upon Rome to the number of twenty thousand, calling on all who were enslaved for debt to join them. Near Bovillæ they fortified a camp, ravaged the neighbouring lands, and having found a patrician, T. Quinctius, in his villa near Tusculum, they compelled him to put himself at their head. A revolt of the plebeians responded to that of the soldiers. They marched out of Rome and camped four miles from its walls. A popular dictator, Valerius Corvus, was appointed; but his soldiers, instead of fighting, sided with their comrades, and all together demanded and obtained:²

1. A general amnesty and complete forgiveness of the past.

2. A military regulation providing that the legionary serving under the standard should not, without his own consent, be erased from the registers, that is to say, be deprived of the advantages attached to military service,³ and that one who had served as tribune should not be enrolled as centurion.

3. A reduction in the pay of the knights. The plebeians on their part, having returned into the city, voted, on the proposal of the tribune Genucius, the following laws, which had the double object of relieving the poor and preventing offices becoming the hereditary patrimony of a few families (342 B.C.).

4. No one should be re-eligible for the same office till after an interval of ten years, and no one should be invested with two magistracies at the same time.

5. Both the consuls might be plebeians.

6. Loans on interest and debts to be abolished, the *nexi* to be released.⁴

In these grave circumstances the senate had shown a spirit of

¹ The passage is so narrow that a tower and a gate are enough to close it. It was, not long since, the boundary between the States of the Church and the Neapolitan Kingdom.

² Livy, vii. 38, 42: *Lex sacra militaris*.

³ The legionary serving under the standard could not be pursued by his creditors, and if the campaign was successful, he found himself able, with his share of the booty, to pay or diminish his debts.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 16.

conciliation, of which it again made proof two years later, when it allowed the plebeian dictator, Publilius Philo, to strike the last blow at the old régime by the suppression of the legislative veto of the senate (339 B.C.).

1. The plebiscita should be binding on all.¹

2. Every law presented for the acceptance of the comitia centuriata should be approved beforehand by the senate.²

3. One of the censors must be always chosen from the plebeians; both consuls might belong to that order.

The last of these laws was the application to the censorship of the Licinian law on the consulship. By means of the other two, Publilius Philo wished to concentrate the legislative power in the centuries and tribes, in order to avert the possibility of a conflict between the two sovereign assemblies and the senate. The latter no longer retained any sign of its ancient power, save the *preliminary approbation* of the plebiscita and laws of the centuries; and this obligatory approbation appeared to be a mere formality. But the senate made arrangements with the consuls for drawing up the list of consular and prætorian candidates presented to the centuries, and for improving beforehand the projected laws to be carried before them. On a future day, when the tribunes made common cause with the nobles, there arose the same agitation on the subject of plebiscita; and the senate then again became for a time master of the republic.³

Let us note, at the moment when the reciprocal rights of the assemblies and the senate are being determined, that if a subject was discussed in the curia before the vote, it must be voted upon in the comitia without deliberation. For popular assemblies the Romans had wisely separated discussion and decision—a useful precaution against the passionate impressions

¹ The law of Horatius and Valerius had given the force of law to the resolutions of the tribes, by submitting them to the sanction of the senate, *patrum auctoritas*. Publilius freed them from the sanction *post eventum*, by submitting them, like the laws of the centuries, to the *preliminary approbation* of the senate. As an electoral power, the comitia by tribes appointed the ædiles, quæstors, and tribunes.

² *Ut legum quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.* (Livy, viii. 12.)

³ This new development will be explained in vol. ii. of this work.

that a glowing speech might produce just before the ballot.¹ Yet the resolutions of the centuries and tribes were not taken till the citizens had been enlightened by a controversial debate at a *contio*,—a free assembly presided over by a magistrate, and which a magistrate of superior rank might forbid.² It was there that the measures to be proposed to the comitia were discussed. In our (French) assemblies there is always a right of replying to a minister; in the *contio* the magistrate spoke last.³ This means that with us more liberty is allowed for an attack on the government; whereas, at Rome, it was rather sought to defend it. This single fact shows the difference between the two States as regards public feeling.

The consequences which followed the revolt of the Campanian legions prove that the rebels had no intention of committing the lawless violence which some have supposed; but that they were carrying out a plan formed by the popular leaders to complete the revolution to which Licinius Stolo had given an irresistible impulse. In 339, indeed, ends the political strife, which the secession of the people to the Sacred Mount had commenced a century and a half earlier. If the plebeians are still excluded from some offices, they gain access to them gradually—without commotions, without struggles—by the sole force of its new constitution—the spirit of which is liberty, as that of the old was privilege. Thus Publilius Philo obtained the prætorship in 337, and in 326 the pro-consulship—which office was consequently open to plebeians from its foundation. At an uncertain date, after 366 but before 312, the Ovinian plebiscitum threw the senate open to plebeians;⁴ and in the year 300, the Lex Ogulnia decreed that

¹ Cic. *pro Flacco*, 7: *O morem præclarum disciplinamque, quam a majoribus accepimus. . . . Nullam illi . . . vim contentis esse voluerunt, etc.*; and he compares all the precautions taken by the ancient Romans with the tumultuous assemblies of the Greeks where men voted by show of hands as soon as the orator had finished speaking.

² Aulus Gellius, xiii. 15. I need not add that it often happened, in the last centuries of the republic, that the deliberative assembly immediately preceded that in which the votes were taken, which much diminished the value of the precautions taken in older times.

³ Dion, xxxix. 35 . . . τοῖς ἰδιώταις πρὸ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ὁ λόγος ἐδίδοτο.

⁴ This law transferred from the consuls to the censors the right of drawing up the list of senators, but obliged them to choose the new members, *ex omni ordine optimum quemque*, from among the old curule magistrates, quæstors, plebeian ædiles and tribunes. Thus, in the space of a lustrum there were 50 tribunes and 10 ædiles, so that the plebeians were not long in finding

thenceforth four pontiffs and five augurs should be taken from the second order.¹ This was the division of the priesthood, and the abolition of the patrician veto of the augurs. Four years later the son of a freed-man, Flavius, clerk to the censor Appius, had, by the publication of the calendar² and the formulæ connected with law suits, deprived the patricians of the only advantage left them, the knowledge of civil and sacred law.

The consuls had always appointed the legionary tribunes. In the year 362 the people took upon themselves the right to choose six of them; fifty years later they appropriated a larger share of the appointments, and decided, by the Atilian plebiscitum, that they would name sixteen. As each of the four legions raised annually had six tribunes, democratic jealousy deprived the generals of the choice of two thirds of them. Fortunately, among this military nation, where every citizen must have served in at least ten campaigns, it was difficult for the popular vote to appoint to any command men incapable of exercising it.

To this work of popular levelling belongs the Mænian law,³ established towards the end of the Samnite war, which suppressed the right, hitherto left to the curiæ, of refusing the *imperium* to magistrates chosen by the centuries. Deprived of all influence over elections and the making of laws, this ancient assembly of the Roman people fell into disuse. There was no longer patrician caste, nor comitia curiata. But this nation, whose life was a perpetual revolution, was more tenacious than any other of the worship of the past. Like the citizens who proudly displayed the images of their ancestors, it religiously preserved the memory and semblance of things which time or man had destroyed. Even the

themselves a majority in the senate. Cf. Livy, xxii. 49: . . . *senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi debebant*.

¹ The salii, the fratres Arvales, the fetiales, and the *rex sacrorum*, who played no political rôle, were always taken from the patricians.

² The calendar showed the days and hours in which it was legal to plead. As these days varied each year, it was necessary, before the time of Flavius, to consult the pontiff, or those patricians who were initiated into these mysteries of these calculations . . . *a paucis principum quotidie petebat*. (Pliny, xxxiii. 6.) The Tables of Flavius, in which were revealed the *legis actiones*, the *actus legitimi*, the *dies fasti*, *nefasti*, and *interdies*, formed the *jus Flavianum*. The patricians having devised new formulæ, Sextus Ælius Catus again disclosed them in 202. To his work the name of *jus Ælianum* was given.

³ Cic., *Brut.*, 14.

empire did not make a clean sweep of them. Three centuries after Augustus there was a senate which at times resumed its political character in earnest, and Justinian still appointed consuls. Thus the *curiæ* still continued, preserved, like the statues of the kings, by the respect in which men and things of ancient times were held by all; but reduced to insignificant civil and religious prerogatives, and represented by thirty lictors, under the presidency of the high pontiff.

By this abdication of the *curiæ*, all the aristocratic strength of the government was concentrated in the senate, into which a greater number of plebeians entered daily through the medium of office.

From 302 to 286 came renewed confirmation of the fundamental laws which were the Magna Charta, as it were, of plebeian liberties.

In 302 there was a confirmation of the Valerian law, which, by the right of appeal, gave the accused his peers as judges.

In 299 a confirmation of the Licinian law for the division of the consulship, and consequently of every office.

In 286 the laws of the plebeian dictator, Hortensius, which ratified all former victories, confirmed the Publilian law relative to the obligatory character of *plebiscita*, and freed them from the preliminary authorisation of the senate.¹

Grave circumstances had led to this last dictatorship; the people, having again risen in revolt on the subject of debts,² had withdrawn to the Janiculum. They only demanded the re-enforcement of the laws against creditors; but their chiefs desired more. Interested as they always are in causing political revolutions by which they profit, they turned the attention of the multitude from their misery to their offended dignity. The Hortensian laws had thus quite a different bearing from what the first leaders of the crowd had intended. Debts were abolished or diminished, it is true, but the plebeian rights were also confirmed again; and in order to efface the last distinction which still separated the two orders, the *nundinæ* were declared not to be holy days. It was

¹ . . . *Itaque eo modo legibus plebiscita exæquata sunt* (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 3).

² See pages 303-305

on the *nundinæ*, or market days, that the tribes assembled, because on those days the country people came to Rome. The patricians, unwilling in their pride to have anything in common with the plebeians, and in order that the latter might not be able to count their small number in the *curiæ*, or await the decisions of the senate, or in a menacing crowd attend the judgments of their tribunals, had consecrated the *nundinæ* to Jupiter, and had forbidden themselves during them all deliberation and all business.¹

Another arrangement is, however, attributed to the dictator Hortensius, which would show a sincere desire to prevent excesses among the democracy by strengthening the aristocratic element in the constitution; *senatus-consulta* were to be raised to the rank of general laws, and, like the *plebiscita*, to be binding on all orders.² The thing is not certain, but henceforth the legislative power of the senate is seen to extend more and more.

There is a creation of this period which has no political character, but which ought to be placed at its proper date. About the year 292 B.C. there was instituted a magistracy of secondary rank, the *triumviri capitales*,³ who replaced the *quæstores parricidii*. Appointed in an assembly of the people presided over by the prætor, they were charged with the investigation of crimes, the receiving of evidence against the guilty, and, after the trial, the supervision of the carrying out of the sentence. They assisted the ædiles in acting as street police, and in obtaining the payment of the fines which the latter had inflicted, and they could have slaves and common people beaten for any offence. Plautus in his time knew of them: "If the *triumviri* met me at this hour of the night," he makes Sosia say,⁴ "they would clap me into prison, and to-morrow I should be dragged out of their cage, and they would give me the stirrup-leathers without listening to my reasons. Eight strong fellows would beat the anvil on my back." We know that

¹ *Nundinæ Jovi sacras esse.* (Macr., *Sat.* i. 16.)

² Theophilus, one of the lawyers of Justinian, in Bk. i. tit. 2, § 5, of his very useful Greek paraphrase of the Institutes, speaks of Hortensius as a true friend of his country, who put an end to the century-long quarrels of the two orders.

³ Livy, *Epit.* xi., and Dig. I. ii. 2 and 30: *Triumviri capitales qui carceris custodiam habere ut, cum animadverti oporteret, interventu eorum fieret.*

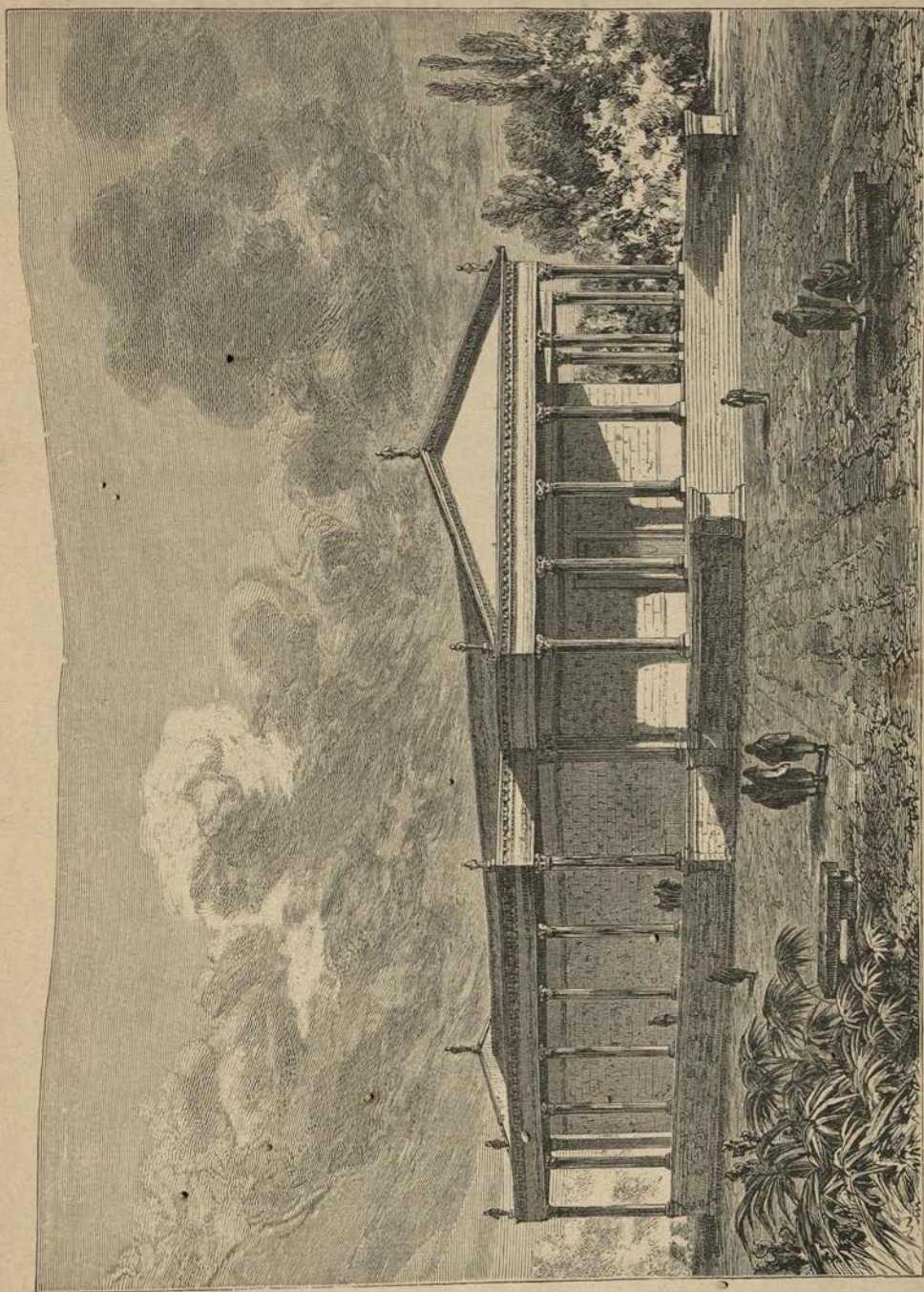
⁴ *Amphitr.*, I. i. 3-6.

they had Nævius put into fetters to punish the boldness of his verses.¹

By the aggregate of laws promulgated since the year 367 B.C., not only had political equality been won, but the advantage was now on the side of the plebeians. Eligible for all magistracies, with the right of occupying at once both the posts of consul and censor, they kept exclusively plebeian the offices of tribune and plebeian ædile. The tribunes could, by their veto, arrest the decrees of the senate, the acts of the consuls and legislative proposals; by their right of accusation they placed unpopular magistrates under the threat of an inevitable condemnation. The assemblies of curiæ were annulled, and the comitia of tribes bound all the orders by their plebiscita. Yet even the aristocracy itself, and, above all, the fortune of Rome were to gain by this equality so unwillingly yielded. The aristocracy was indeed thrown open to all; but it was in order to attract and to absorb into its bosom, to the profit of its power, all talents—all ambitions. Separated from the people, it would soon have fallen into weakness; henceforth the best plebeian blood rose to the summit; like a branch grafted on a vigorous trunk, it was nourished by a fertilizing sap, and the tree, whose roots reached deep into the soil, was strong enough to spread its branches afar.

An obscure fact shows that, if the law had decreed equality by allowing a man of talent and courage to aspire to anything, which is one great force in a State, society preserved its family traditions, which are another. In the year 295, the senate, in order to avert the effect of evil omens, had prescribed two days of public prayers. On this occasion a dispute arose among the Roman ladies in the little temple of patrician *Chastity*. A patrician woman, named Virginia, had married a plebeian, the consul L. Volumnius. In order to punish her for this mésalliance the matrons forbade her to join in their sacred ceremonies. She, angry at this affront, built a temple to plebeian *Chastity*, established the same rites, and assembled all the matrons of her order there, saying to them: "Let there be henceforth no less emulation among the women in chastity, than there is among the

¹ Aulus-Gellius, iii. 3. He lampooned the Metelli, who were powerful patricians.



Temple of Chastity (Restoration of Dubut).

men in courage, and let this altar be honoured more devoutly than the other." "The right to sacrifice here," adds Livy, "was only granted to women of acknowledged chastity, and who had been only once married."¹

This story is edifying, and the virtue of the matrons is conspicuous; but there are also jealous rivalries disclosed, which the women at least did not forget for a long time, and that respect for blood and race which always prevented Roman society from falling a prey to demagogues. Moreover, the leaders of the plebs, having no longer anything to appropriate or destroy, now became conservatives, in accordance with the logic of the passions and of history.

From the laws concerning the State, let us pass to those which relate to private fortunes.

¹ Livy, x. 23.



The coin above represents an altar on which is the statue of Chastity, standing on a curule chair. Reverse of a denarius of Plotina, wife of Trajan. The legend bears these words: "Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, father of his country, for the sixth time consul:" which fixes the coining of the piece between 112 and 117 A.D.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE AGRARIAN LAW AND THE ABOLITION OF DEBT.

I.—AGRARIAN LAW OF LICINIUS STOLO.¹

CIVIL equality gives, even to the poorest, new and noble sentiments,¹ but wealth is not one of the good things which it assures. Those whom the law declared equal in the Forum, remained classed in ordinary life according to their fortune; the rich above, near to the honours, the poor below, in misery. Accordingly the tribunes had always had in view a double object: to attain by a share in offices, political equality, and by grants of land, to mitigate the distresses of the poor.

As the workman now demands work and remunerative wages, so the poor man formerly demanded land. The agrarian laws which so long troubled the Roman republic, are thus the ancient form of the social questions which agitate modern society.² Since the problem is the same—to diminish misery, and consequently to diminish the evil passions which misery too often sows in the minds of the poor, against the rich, we are led by more than mere curiosity to study this history of the old Roman proletariat more closely.

In a country overspread with small republics, as Italy was,

¹ Everywhere where civil inequality exists, whatever greatness it may develop among a few by the aid of privilege, it entails a corruption peculiar to itself, which disfigures the most admirable societies, and spoils the best and most generous natures." De Remusat, *Essais de philosophie*. [The distinction of free-men and slaves introduced this inequality into all ancient States, however completely the free-men may have equalised the privileges among themselves. Thus the purest ancient democracy was really an aristocracy ruling a population greater than itself which had no civil rights.—*Ed.*]

² [This form, however, still exists in Ireland, and will presently reappear in Southern Italy, where great estates have monopolised the means of living in a country without manufactures, or else where manufactures have been suppressed.—*Ed.*]

the strength of the State was augmented by increasing the number of citizens. This principle, which was recognised and put into practice by the kings, and after them by the senate, made the fortune of Rome. But, for the sake of safety, the State dare not arm those who might possibly be tempted to employ arms against herself. Accordingly the Roman law had provided that the proletariat should never be called to the standards. Shut out of the Forum and the army, these proletaries must become dangerous as they increased, and this was continually the case; the stranger deprived of his land, and who had come to Rome to seek the means of subsistence, the craftsman, the ruined farmer, the insolvent debtor, the citizen degraded by the censors, the freedman whose fortune could not make men forget his birth, all who were miserable and hostile to a government to which they attributed their miseries or their civic degradation, fell into this abyss, which, gaping wider day by day, threatened to engulf the city.¹ In this there lay, as was proved in the last days of the republic, a great danger to liberty: it was true foresight, and the act of a good citizen to strive to diminish this danger by diminishing the number of the proletariat, and by providing the State and the legions with useful citizens. From this patriotic idea, with which there were naturally mingled some selfish motives, among the leaders of the people sprang almost all the agrarian laws.

From the time of Cassius to the decemvirs, that is to say, so long as the misfortunes of the times left only the lands bordering on the wall of Servius to be distributed, the patricians energetically repelled all agrarian laws. When the frontier receded, they consented to give up to the poor a few acres of land round the conquered towns, in order to free Rome from a certain number of poor, and to favour the increase of the population available for bearing arms,² but more especially with the object

¹ It is necessary to distinguish between the *proletarius* or *capite census*, who had not the census necessary to enter a class, and the *ærvarius*, whose fortune was sometimes considerable (Cf. § iii. p. 308), but who, on account of his origin, was deprived of certain rights. Practically the proletariat suffered under the same civil disabilities, and might consequently be disposed to make common cause with the *ærvarii*. But it was only for the proletaries that the tribunes spoke.

² After the taking of Veii the gratuity was more liberal, *septena jugera . . . ut vellent in eam spem liberos tollere* (Livy, v. 30)

of occupying in the interests of their empire strong military positions. But this exile amid conquered races and the dangers which the colonist ran of being driven out or massacred by the ancient inhabitants,¹ rendered these gratuities far from popular. "They preferred," says Livy, "asking for lands at Rome, to possessing them at Antium." Deprived of a portion of his rights as citizen, the colonist would have left the city with regret, even though he might find on the two or four *jugera*,² assigned to him so far away, ease and safety.

Accordingly, although colonies multiplied with fresh conquests, the tribunes well understood that something more was needed to uproot the evil of pauperism, and Licinius Stolo proposed to distribute among the poor a portion of the State land which had been usurped by the nobles.

His *rogatio* appears to have been thus conceived:—

No citizen shall possess more than 500 *jugera* (312 acres) of State land;³

None shall keep on the public pastures more than 100 head of neat and 500 head of small cattle;

Of the lands restored to the State, there shall be taken sufficient to distribute to every poor citizen seven *jugera* (four acres, one rood);

Those who remain in possession of public land shall pay to the public treasury a tithe of the fruits of the earth, a fifth of the produce of the olives and vines, and the rent due for each head of cattle. At each lustrum these taxes shall be farmed out to the highest bidder by the censors, who shall apply the proceeds to the pay of the troops.

Each proprietor shall be obliged to employ on his land a certain number of free labourers in proportion to the extent of the estate.

It has been shown (p. 168) that the agrarian laws among the Romans, since they only applied to public lands,⁴ were as

¹ As at Sora (Livy, ix. 23); at Fidenæ (iv. 17); at Antium (iii. 4); and at Velitræ (viii. 3).

² As at Labicum 2 ($1\frac{1}{4}$ acre); at Anxur, $3\frac{1}{2}$ (2 acres). (Livy, viii. 21.) The *jugerum*=2 roods, 19 poles (0.252 hectares).

³ We give this reconstruction of the Licinian law according to Niebuhr, but believe he has introduced into it too many traces of the law of the Gracchi.

⁴ All the agrarian laws denote by the word *possessio* the portion of the *ager publicus*

just as they were necessary; but their execution almost always injured rights consecrated by time. How was a public estate to be recognised when the landmarks had been displaced, and the tithe was no longer paid? How was a State property to be discovered amid lands that had been handed down as private property for more than a century, or sold, bequeathed, given as dower, left by will, twenty times over? The rich knew well what insuperable difficulties would be found in applying the Licinian law, when after ten years they at last accepted it. They knew, too, how to evade it, by emancipating their sons before they came of age, so as to assign them the 500 *jugera* allowed, or by retaining under an assumed name what they should have returned to the State. The example of Licinius, who was himself condemned, in 357 B.C., to pay a fine of ten thousand ases, for having in his possession 1000 *jugera* (624 acres) of public land, 500 of which he held in the name of his emancipated son, proves how numerous the evasions were, since the author of the law, a man of consular rank, could elude it without feeling any shame. The domain continued, then, to be encroached upon by the nobles, who, by appropriating Italy to themselves, laid the foundations of those colossal fortunes, which can only be understood now by comparison with the English aristocracy. Even in 291 B.C. two thousand workmen were needed by one consul to clear his woods.

The provision of the Licinian law relative to tithes appears to have been better observed, since from this time forth we hear no more of those complaints against income tax which were formerly so rife, and henceforth Rome is able to bear the expenses of the longest wars. But it was not so with that which limited the quantity of cattle to be sent to the public pastures. These pastures grew daily larger, for from the end of the fifth century of Rome there comes a fatal change in agriculture, namely, the substitution of

occupied by any individual, and the Digest establishes the difference between *possessio* and *proprietas*. *Quicquid apprehendimus cuius proprietas ad nos non pertinet, aut nec potest pertinere, hoc possessionem appellamus*. (Digest, L. 16. 115.) At Rome (Livy, iv. 48) as almost all lands were those which had been conquered, the *heritages* were only small fields. Accordingly those who did not wish to encroach on the public domain have only 4 to 7 *jugera*, like Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Coruncanius, Æmilius Papus, M. Curius, Regulus, Fabius Cunctator; etc. Cf. Val. Max., iv. 4 and 8. It was certainly only at the expense of the public land that the greater part of the *possessions* of 500 *jugera* and more could have been formed.

grazing for arable land.¹ How, indeed, was it possible to sow, plant, or build far from Rome, and beyond the protection of the legions or fortresses during that Samnite war, which seemed as though it would never end? Where were hands to be found to bring all the conquered land under cultivation? Slaves were scarce, and military service retained the free labourers under the standards. There was nothing to be done, then, but leave these lands for pasture, since it was impossible to prepare them for seed, or to wait a year for the harvest. If the enemy appeared the flocks dispersed among the mountains, and instead of crops and farms, nothing was left to burn or pillage but the poor hovels of the shepherds. To have grazing lands, or to have flocks feeding on the public ground, was a clear and sure source of revenue, which dreaded neither the enemy nor bad seasons, and which all wished to enjoy. Accordingly the Licinian law was soon forgotten,² notwithstanding the fines inflicted by the ædiles. But large flocks drive out small ones; moreover, the poor man's cow could not go 30 or 40 miles from Rome every day to pasture; even without any violence the State grazing lands were only of use to those who could afford to pay shepherds, and build on the heights castles or strong houses which served as a refuge in case of hostile invasion.³

The new aristocracy, however, while it appropriated the best lands for itself, did not forget that the surest means of preventing trouble about its usurpations was to do something for the welfare of the people. During the Samnite war numerous colonies were founded; into the three towns of Sora, Alba, and Carseoli alone there were sent as many as fourteen thousand plebeian families;⁴ and Curius Dentatus twice, in his first consulship and at the end

¹ Cato (*de Re rust.* i.), placing the lands in order of their value, puts the corn-bearing lands only in the sixth rank; Varro (iii. 3) puts meadows in the first.

² In the year 298, there was pronounced a condemnation against those who *plus quam quod lege finitum erat agri possiderent*. (Livy, x. 13; Cf. x. 23, 47.) New fines were imposed, in 296 and 293, on *pecuarii*. These fines were so numerous and so heavy, that they serve to build temples, celebrate games, and make precious offerings; pateræ of gold to Jupiter, brazen gates for the Capitol, the wolf of Romulus, the temple of Concord of Flavius, the paving of the Appian Way, etc. Those quotations would be far more numerous, had we not lost the second decade of Livy.

³ Livy. v. 44. [The same change has taken place, from economical causes in Scotland, and is taking place in Ireland.—*Ed.*]

⁴ The older colonies were far smaller, usually 300 families. (Dionys. ii. 35, 52.)

of the war against Pyrrhus, distributed seven acres of land per head among the people.¹ The laws of the dictator Hortensius perhaps contained a similar provision.

Other laws relieved debtors.

II.—LAWS ON DEBT.

The rate of interest, which was at first arbitrary, had been fixed by the decemvirs at the twelfth of the capital ($8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum). Licinius had deducted from the capital the interest already paid, and allowed three years for the repayment of the rest. But, mindful only of the present ill, he had not lowered the legal rate of interest for the future. In 356 B.C., the ravages of the Gauls and the dread which they left behind having rendered money scarce, and loans burdensome to the borrower, two tribunes again put into force the provisions of the Twelve Tables. The evil continued. The price of land fell under the continual threat of invasions, and the debtor who owned a field would only sell it at an enormous sacrifice.

The senate grew frightened at the increasing number of slaves for debt. In the year 352, in the consulship of Valerius and Marcus Rutilius, five commissioners established in the name of the government a bank, which lent money at very low interest. At the same time they fixed the prices at which lands and flocks might be given in repayment of the loans. This measure caused the paying off of many debts. Five years later the rate of interest was reduced to one twenty-fourth of the capital ($4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.). Finally, the revolt of the garrison of Capua (342) led to an abolition of debts, which was a general bankruptcy, and the suppression of loans on interest,² a measure more humane than efficacious, since the law cannot control in transactions for the most beyond its cognizance.

There remained the cruel provisions of the Twelve Tables

¹ There were also great distributions at the end of the first Punic war.

² Tac., *Ann.* vi. 16: *unciaria fenore, uncia, semuncia*, etc., signify not only an ounce, etc., but also $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{24}$, etc., of any sum. Thus, *Hæres ex uncia* was heir to $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole. The *unciarium fenus* brought in $\frac{1}{12}$ of the capital. At Athens, the usual interest was 12 per cent.

against insolvent debtors. In 326 B.C. the violence of Papirius towards the young Publius excited such indignation, that in order to appease it, the senate were obliged to revive the old law, attributed to Servius, that the goods and not the body of the debtor should answer for his debt. This was a real benefit. "From that day," says Livy, "there commenced for the people a new liberty."¹

But in purely agricultural States, whatever precaution the law may take, small properties are always devoured by usury. Taxes take the little money the husbandman possesses; and should there come a bad season, should a harvest be lost, he must necessarily, since he has no reserve fund, have recourse to the usurer.² At the close of the Samnite war, after sixty campaigns, there were very many poor at Rome—prisoners whose all had been swallowed up by the payment of their ransoms; the sick, the wounded, who were unfit for work; and lastly, those who had squandered their share of the plunder while their fields remained untilled.

Misery reached even some of the great families. One Venturius, the son of a man of consular rank, not having been able to pay for his father's funeral ceremonies, was kept in the *ergastulum* by C. Plautius, his creditor. One day he managed to escape from prison and ran to the Forum, all covered with blood, like the centurion in the year 493, where he implored the protection of the tribunes.

This period is little known to us; it seems, however, that the tribunes proposed an abolition of debts,³ that the rich resisted, and that there were long disturbances; but the people marched out of Rome and settled on the Janiculum (286). For the last time this means succeeded, for the frontier was still so near the town that the nobles dare not risk a civil war, of which the enemy would not have failed to take advantage. At this moment, too, Etruria began to bestir itself: a dictator was appointed, a plebeian

¹ *Quod necti desierunt*. (Livy, viii. 23.) Yet the insolvent debtor, if he remained free, was none the less *infamis*, expelled from his tribe and deprived of all political rights. Cf. Cic., *pro Quinctio*, 15.

² This is still the state of the farmers of Rome, who have been often known to sell the harvest before seed-time. The population became too numerous for large farms, and when reduced to small plots were subject to all the distresses of the small farmers round ancient Rome.

³ Val. Max., VI. i. 9; Zonaras, viii. 2; Livy, *Epit.*, xi.: *post longas et graves seditiones*.

named Hortensius. We know his political laws,¹ the following provisions, are also attributed to him:—

Abolition or diminution of debts;

Distribution of seven acres to each citizen;

A renewed confirmation of the Lex Papiria Poetelia which had (in 326) forbidden slavery for debt.

Debtors were thus protected against their creditors, since the usurer, who was counted the most dangerous of robbers, was condemned, says Cato, to pay a fine of fourfold, whereas the robber only paid double of what he took. Thus usury must die out, at least the law has said it; but the law declares that all citizens of Rome are equal, which is a legal fiction. The poor citizens are no more guaranteed against usury than they are likely to become consuls and senators. The usurer, driven from the public place and punished by the laws, hides himself, and becomes more exacting than ever,² for he must now be paid, beyond the price of his money, the risks that he runs, and the dishonour which falls on him.

But these are evils which human wisdom cannot cure. Inequality is too marked in nature for society to avoid its impress. At Sparta, where equality was pursued with savage energy, even at the expense of morality and liberty, the most glaring inequality resulted from the laws of Lycurgus.³ Let us not, therefore, accuse these upstart nobles of having forgotten, in their curule chairs, the people from whom they sprang. By giving land to the poor, by proscribing usury, and especially the detention of the person, they had done all that the law and political wisdom could do to ameliorate the lot of the plebeians. The latter bore it in mind for more than a century, and that century was the golden age of the republic.

¹ See page 292.

² Even the law fell into disuse. The ancient usages reappeared: *veteri jam more fenus receptum erat*. Appian, *de Bello civ.*, i. 54. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 16, 17. Moreover the Latins, the allies, served as nominal debtors. (Livy, xxxv. 7.) Brutus lent at 48 per cent, with compound interest. (Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21.) The prætor Sempronius, being desirous of putting the laws into force again, was slain by his creditors. (App., *ibid.*) The abolition of debts and of loans on interest was a revolutionary measure which could not last. It failed at Rome; it will fail everywhere, because it is against the nature of things.

³ [That Lycurgus established equality of property is more than doubtful.—*Ed.*]

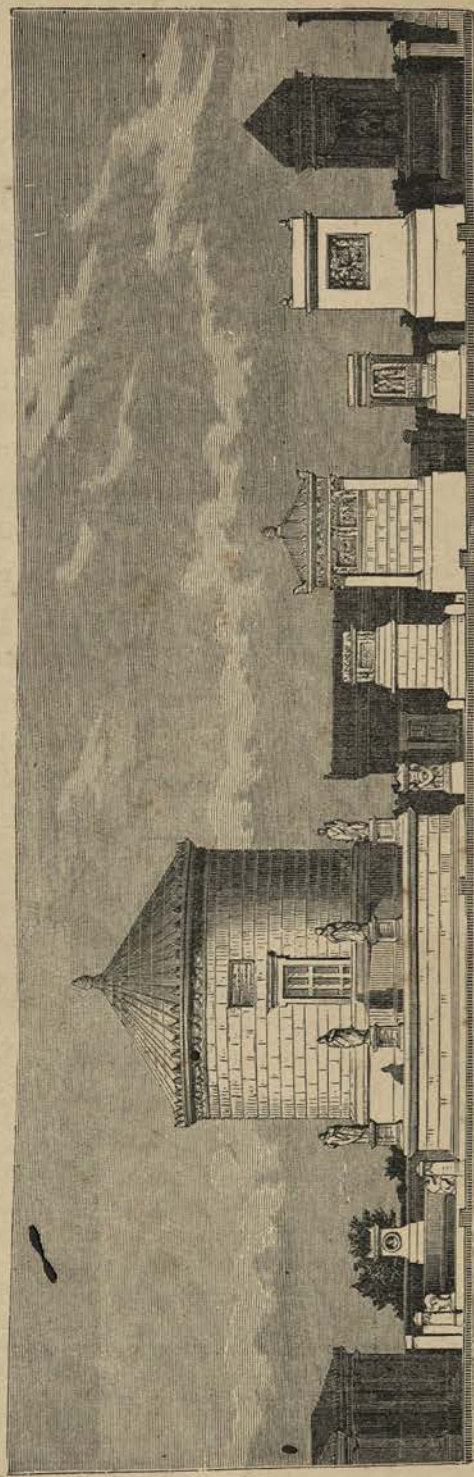
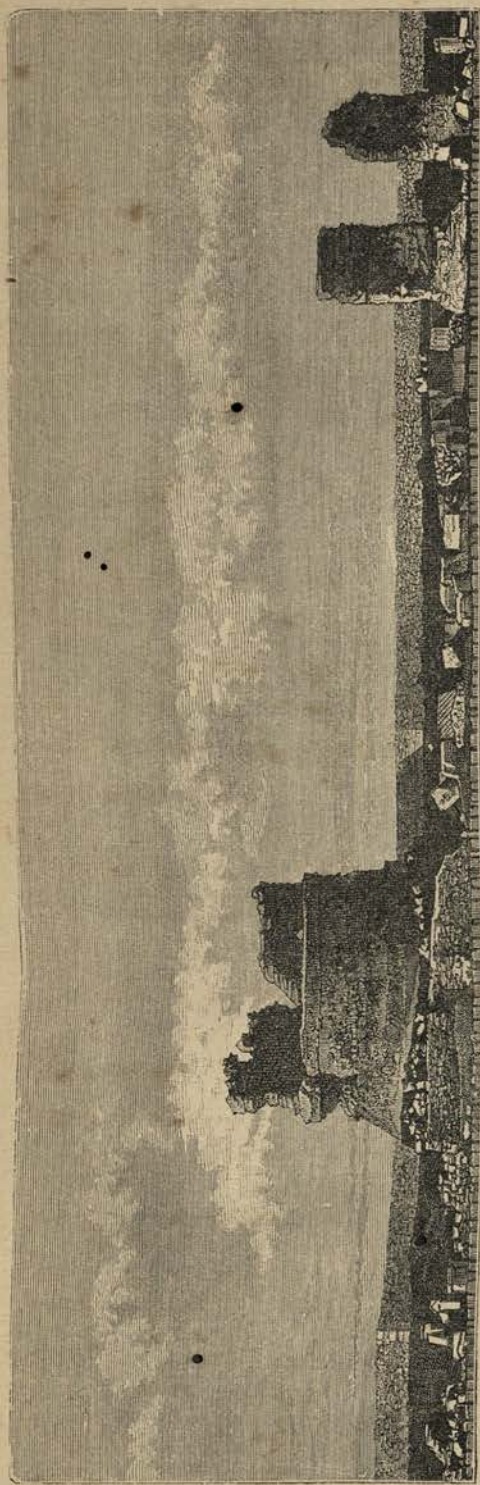
III.—THE *ÆRARIII*; CENSORSHIP OF APPIUS (312).

The two orders, however, had not yet terminated their ancient quarrel, when there appeared on the scene those who were to overthrow the patriciate, the plebeian nobility, and liberty. Beneath the plebeians who had become Quirites, outside the pale of the centuries and tribes, lived the freedmen, who were already multiplying, the craftsmen, the merchants, the inhabitants of municipalities *sine suffragio*, who had settled at Rome, and lastly the *ærarii*,¹ all of them citizens, but living under political disabilities, excluded from the legions, disqualified for holding office, and never allowed to vote. Organised into corporations,² having assemblies, and doubtless having leaders too counting among them wealthy, active, and intelligent men, they formed a class so much the more dangerous as they represented more truly than the real plebeians—by the diversity of their origin and the stain of their birth or professions—the revolutionary principle, which was to throw Rome open to all nations. In 312 B.C., they nearly obtained possession of power.

Appius was then censor. He was one of the most distinguished men of his time, a great orator, a great lawyer and poet; but he was also the proudest of the haughty race of the Claudii, who counted among them five dictatorships, thirty-two consulships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations, and who ended with four emperors. Contrary to custom, Appius had canvassed for the censorship before the consulship. This irresponsible office, which gave into a man's power the moneys

¹ *Æra pro capite præbebant*. They were only armed in cases of extreme peril, and they were subject to an arbitrary tax, heavier in proportion than that of the citizens. (Cf. Dionys. iv. 18; ix. 25; and Livy, iv. 24; viii. 20; ix. 46; xlii. 27, 31.) The inhabitants of towns which had the right of citizenship, *sine suffragio*, the Italians who had settled at Rome, after having received the *jus commercii* and even the *jus connubii*, were in the same category.

² We have spoken of the corporations of Numa, which we again found in the centuries of workmen of Servius. See page 119, seq. Fortunes are now estimated according to the sum total of property movable or immovable. At Rome the only property allowed by the censors in their estimates was Quiritary estate, that is to say, all the *res mancipi* (coined bronze, houses, fields, slaves, beasts of burden). Many merchants, usurers, creditors, ship owners, artisans, indirect holders of the domain (for the *ærarius* had no direct share in the conquered lands, since he did not serve), might be very rich, and yet find themselves counted among the *ærarii*.



Appian Way ; in its actual state, and restored by M. Ancelet.

of the republic and the honour of the citizens; was the true royalty at Rome. When he had obtained it he kept it, it is said, five years, in spite of the laws, the senate, and the tribunes. He overruled his colleague, who finally abdicated, and he did not allow any successor to be appointed. His ambition was great. In an age of military glory, he preferred that which civil works confer. During his consulship he left the other consul to make war against the Samnites, while he remained at Rome to finish his aqueduct, 7 miles long, and the Appian Way, *viarum regina*. The pride of his answer to Pyrrhus is well known; before the Samnites were yet conquered, he declared that Italy was the domain of the republic.

Traditional history makes Appius one of those ambitious patricians who ask power from the mob. It was hateful to him, it is said, to see plebeians in office; and in detestation of that burgher class which the patricians no longer dared resist, he flattered the populace, which, in spite of its demagogic instincts, often yields to the ascendancy of great names and great fortunes. In drawing up the list of the senate, Appius put into it the sons of some freedmen. There was a general indignation among the plebeian nobility.¹ The consuls and tribunes refused to accept the senate of Appius. To this refusal he replied by a far more dangerous innovation: he distributed through the tribes the *æerarii*, the *libertini*, in short, the masses or the lowly (*humiles*), as Livy says.² This was simply placing the votes in their hands, to shake the constitution, and Appius thought it would be easy to lead this populace and gain its voice.

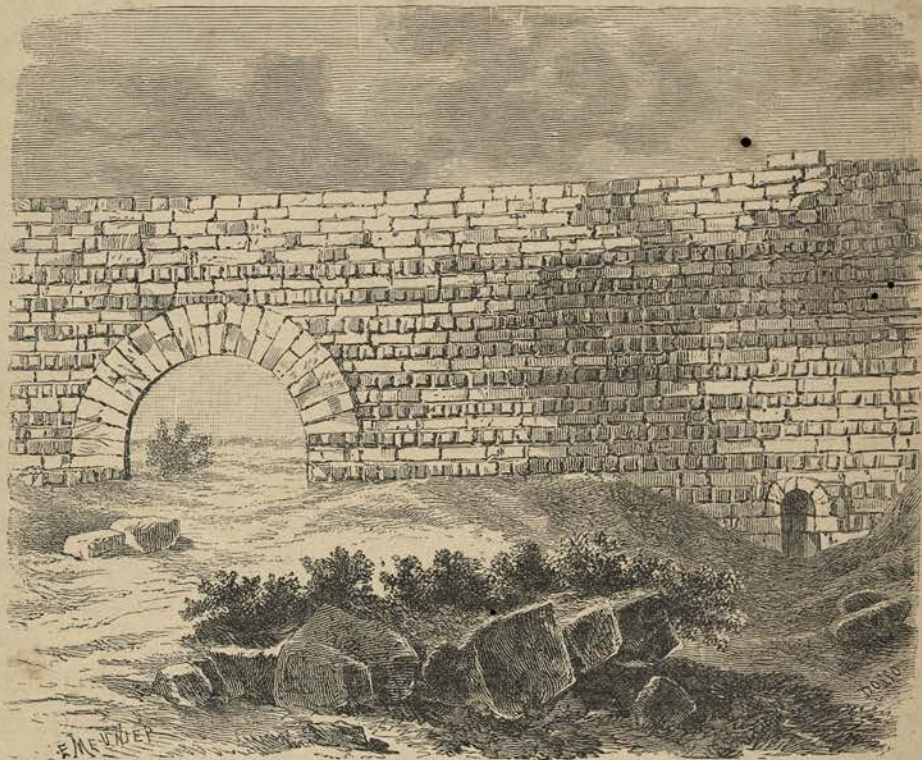
A simpler explanation offers itself, and is justified by his character, and by the two consulships which he gained after his censorship,³ which the nobles could easily have hindered him from obtaining. The Samnite war, commenced twenty years before, had just broken out again with murderous violence, and the plague had raged fiercely in the preceding year. In order to fill up the gap

¹ They accused Appius of overturning religion, as well as the constitution, by allowing the Potitii and Pinarii to leave to slaves the care of the sacrifices which they owed to Hercules. The god punished him by striking him blind. (Livy, ix. 29.)

² *Humilibus per omnes tribus divis.* (Id. ix. 46.)

³ In 307 and 296 B.C.

made in the population, Appius inscribed on the register of the census the *æerarii* who were exempt from military service. This policy was hateful to those who, through their fathers or themselves, had striven against all novelties; but it caused the greatness of Rome by proclaiming the spirit of assimilation with foreign races instead of a narrow and jealous patriotism. As for the sons



Causeway in the valley of Aricia for the passage of the Appian Way.¹

of freedmen called to the senate by Appius, they must have been very few, for there is nothing said about their expulsion by the succeeding censors, though, of course, this may have taken place without any noise.

The law allowed the censors, who were appointed every five years, to retain office for only eighteen months, and Appius is accused of not having abdicated till the end of five years. He could only have committed this breach of law by the support of a powerful party in the senate and among the people, but it is

¹ *Atlas of the Bull. archéol.*, vol. ii. pl. 39.

more than probable that in order to allow him to complete his immense works, he was furnished with a commission which was looked upon as the continuation of his censorship. Whatever may be the truth about these accusations and our hypotheses, posterity owes honour to the man who, after having taught the Romans the importance to empire and commerce of rapid means of communication, built the first of those aqueducts which led the water of the neighbouring hills to Rome "on triumphal arches." His was subterranean, but most of the other thirteen, which were built later, were not so, and their colossal ruins give to the desert of the Roman Campagna that solemn and grave aspect which reminds us that a great people has lived there.

With Appius and his reforms is associated the clerk Flavius, himself the son of a freedman, and made a senator by Appius. The publication of the calendar of the pontiffs and of the secret formulæ of legal proceedings (*jus Flavianum*) which he had managed to discover by attending law-suits, had gained him the gratitude of business men, who forced him into the tribuneship, had him twice appointed triumvir,¹ and promised him their voices for the curule ædileship. The whole nobility, those who were already called "the better classes," were moved at this strange novelty, and the president of the elective comitia tried to refuse votes given for him (304). When his election was known, the senators, in grief and shame, took off their golden rings, the knights the ornaments of their warhorses, and the first time he entered his colleague's house,² no one rose to yield him a place. But he had his curule chair brought in, and those who scorned the upstart were obliged to bend before the magistrate.

These bravados might stir up passions; but Flavius displayed the temper of a statesman, and not that of an ambitious upstart. He spoke of peace, of concord, and like Camillus, vowed a temple to the reconciliation of all the orders. As the senate would not give him the money necessary for the building of the temple, he employed upon it the proceeds of fines, and the people forced

¹ *Triumvir nocturnus* and *triumvir coloniæ deducendæ*. (Livy, xi. 46.)

² Livy, *ibid.*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 6; Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 41; *Ep. ad Att.*, vi. 1. His colleague, Q. Anicius Præneste, had only been a Roman citizen for a few years. Their competitors were two plebeians of consular family, Poetelius and Domitius. (Pliny, *ib.* xxxiii. 6.)

the chief pontiff, who had at first refused, to consecrate the building.

The measure taken by Appius in respect to the *cærarîi* was a just and good one, but the manner in which it had been carried out rendered it dangerous. If spread through the thirty-five tribes, the populace would have become masters of all the votes. When, in 304, Fabius, the most illustrious of the patricians, and Decius, the chief of the plebeian nobility, had been appointed censors, they allowed the *cærarîi* to retain the rights which Appius had given them, but they enrolled them in the four city tribes, where, notwithstanding their number, they had only four votes against thirty-one. This measure gained for Fabius among the patricians the surname of Maximus, which his victories had not conferred on him, and the city tribes were thenceforth held to be debased; it became a punishment to be enrolled in them by the censors. Appius was right in doing away with the civic degradation of a numerous class, and Fabius in taking precautions lest the "new social stratum" should stifle the old.

In order to increase the external splendour of the nobility, the same censors instituted an annual review of knights. On the 15th of July they proceeded on horseback from the temple of Mars to the Capitol, clad in white robes striped with purple, wearing olive crowns on their heads and bearing the military rewards accorded to their valour. Thus, every year this brilliant array of youth passed, proud and glorious, before the eyes of the people, inspiring them with respect and awe. This was the festival of the Roman nobility.¹

We did not wish, by the narration of the complicated wars of this period, to draw off attention from the development of the Roman constitution from the time of the tribune Licinius to that of the dictator Hortensius (367—286).² Now that we know the

¹ [It was probably a direct imitation of the Panathenaic festival at Athens, which we see in the frieze of the Parthenon.—*Ed.*]

² There have been reckoned for the fifth century nearly two hundred patricians who had borne office; for the fourth not more than half this number are found, and more than forty plebeians obtained magistracies. In 295 the former still have a majority in the senate (Livy x. 24), but their number continually diminishes, whereas that of the plebeians, after the Ovinian law, increases unceasingly. (See p. 236.) In 179 out of 304 senators, M. Willems, in his remarkable essay on the "Sénat de la république romaine," page 366, finds eighty-eight patricians and two hundred and sixteen plebeians.

state of this society, so happily blended of aristocracy represented by the senate which retained the daily government of the republic, and of democracy, represented by the people who had the last word in all grave affairs ;—now that we have seen how out of so many diverse elements there grew this city, in which the nobility, whether of ancient or recent origin, is devoted to the interests of the State, in which small landowners fill the legions and the Forum, conquer provinces by their discipline, and protect liberty by their wisdom, we may revert to the tedious history of the long-continued struggle of the Italians against Rome.



P. CRASSUS M.F. Roman knight holding his horse by the bridle. Reverse of a silver coin of the Licinian family.

THIRD PERIOD.

WAR OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE, OR CONQUEST OF ITALY (343-265).

CHAPTER XIV.

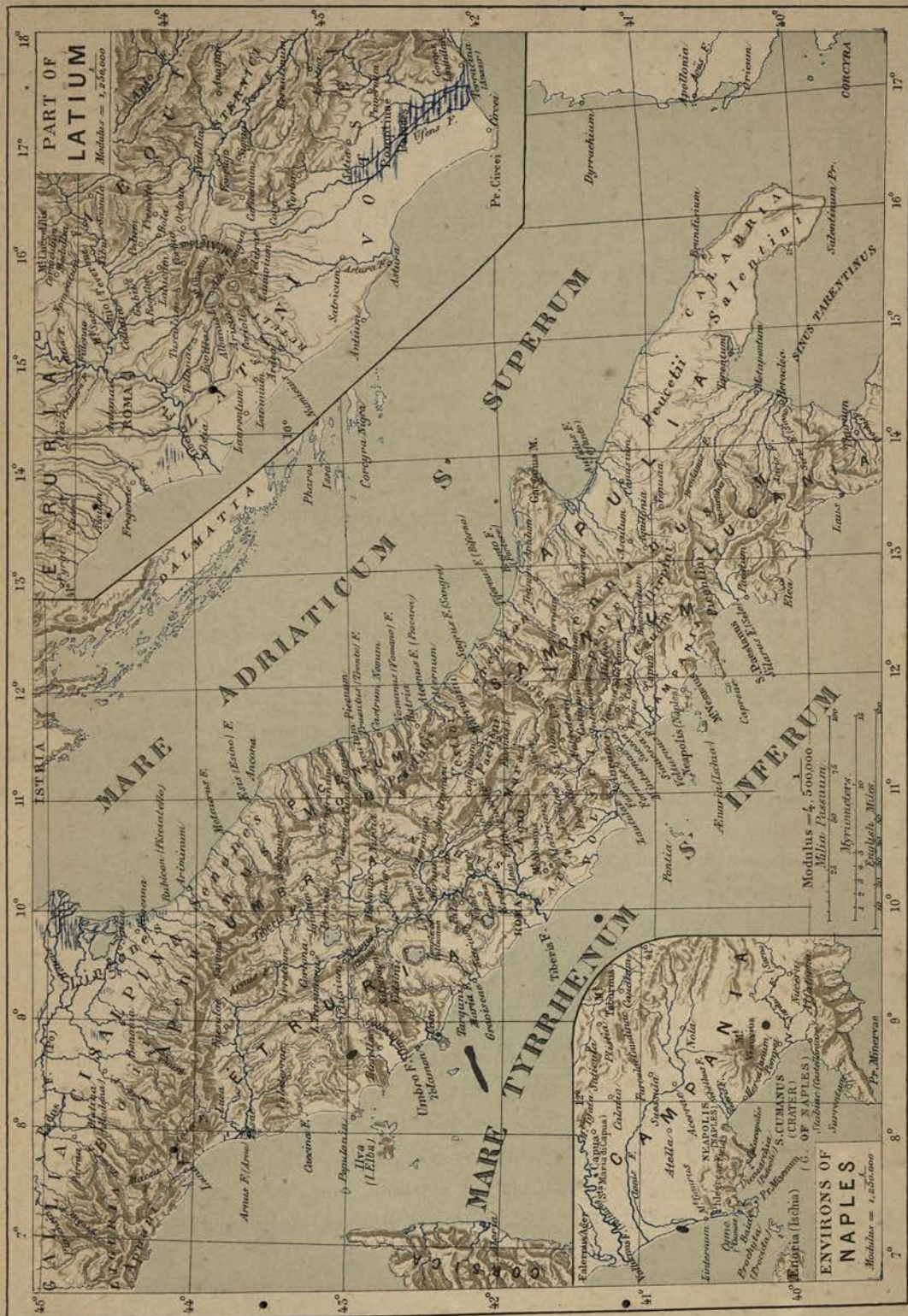
WARS WITH THE SAMNITES AND LATINS (343-312).

I.—FIRST SAMNITE WAR; ACQUISITION OF CAPUA (343-341).

SINCE the Licinian laws had re-established concord in the city, Rome displayed a formidable energy abroad. In the space of twenty-three years she had freed herself from the Gauls for more than half a century; the only Etruscan towns which had dared to attack her had learned fatal evidence of their weakness, and the whole plain of Latium was occupied by Roman citizens and allies. If there still remained in the mountains any independent and secretly hostile Latin or Volscian cities, the senate kept them surrounded by the garrisons established at Terracina on the sea, and at Sora in the valley of the Liris. Within the city the patricians had failed in their counter-revolutionary attempts, and the laws of Genucius and Publilius were about to complete the plebeian revolution.¹ Nothing, however, foretold, except perhaps the strong organisation of this little nation, that its fortunes would ever extend beyond these narrow limits. It was the battles against the Samnites that decided the future of Rome. Hitherto, from the time of the kings, she had with difficulty defended herself. The new struggle, in which her very existence is at stake, and at the end of which she finds herself mistress of Italy,

¹ See chapter xiii.

CENTRAL ITALY FOR THE SAMNITE WARS



must needs make her a conquering State. The fight on Mount Gaurus is the first battle of a war which ends on the summits of Atlas and the banks of the Rhine, the Danube and Euphrates.

We have seen¹ what the country of the Samnites was; snowy peaks, wild valleys, where life was hard and manners warlike, and the need of putting under contribution the plains at the foot of the Apennines ever pressing. They loved war, and in order to succeed in it, they had reached a pitch of military organisation scarcely inferior to that of the Romans. But, being scattered among the mountains, they had neither any great town to serve as a citadel, nor a political organisation which might unite the inhabitants of the territory in close bonds. Sometimes a temporary league united their forces, and for any enterprise once determined they chose a chief to lead their warriors; but of any executive power like that of the consuls, or permanent council like the senate, or any sovereign assembly like the comitia of Rome, that is to say, of one of the most vigorous political constitutions of antiquity, they knew nothing.

While Rome advanced towards Latium, Southern Etruria and the Sabine country, securing every step by the occupation of all strategic positions, and leaving as little as possible to chance, the Samnites went in search of adventures. Now they conquered Campania; again Magna Grecia; but no tie attached these new settlements to the mother country, and their colonies soon forgot the people whence they had sprung; so that, though Samnite bands made rich captures and took possession of fertile lands, the Samnite State increased neither in size nor strength. Strictly speaking, it did not exist. And yet these turbulent mountaineers had great ambition. When they saw the Romans established at Sora, a few steps from their territory, they wished to take up a position between Campania and Latium, by seizing the country of the Sidicini. Teanum, the capital of this people, was situated on a group of mountains, shut in between the Liris and the semicircular course of the Volturnus; from its walls might be seen Capua, beyond the Volturnus, and Minturnæ, at the mouth of the Liris. These two places, and the road between Latium and Campania, would

¹ Page xcix. and following pages.

have been at the mercy of the Samnites, if they had made the conquest of the country of the Sidicini. Accordingly the Capuans promised aid to Teanum; but their enervated troops could not withstand the active mountaineers; they were twice beaten and driven back into Capua, which the Samnites, encamped on Mount Tifata, a mile from its walls, held as it were besieged.¹ In this extremity the Campanians sent an embassy to Rome (343). Eleven years before a common hatred of the Volscians and the fear of the Gallic bands had drawn the Romans and Samnites together; a treaty had been concluded. This was the pretext which the senate used to reject the first demands of the Campanians, and making them buy aid at a high price. "Well!" said the deputies, "will you refuse to defend what belongs to you? Capua gives herself to you with her lands, her temples, everything sacred and profane." The senate accepted, but when its envoys came to bid the Samnite generals desist from attacking a town which had become Roman property, the latter replied by ordering the ravaging of the Campanian lands, and a war of sixty-eight years began.

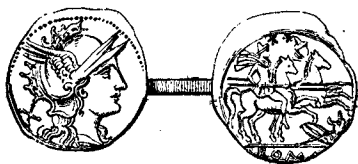
State reasons were doubtless invoked to break off the treaty so recently concluded with the Samnites. It was impossible to allow the enfeebled nations of the Volscians and Auruncians, of the Sidicini and Campanians, to be replaced at the very gates of Latium by a brave and enterprising people; if this torrent were not confined to the mountains, soon no dam would be able to restrain it. The Latins believed it. Accordingly the war was for them a national one, and they entered into it with more ardour than the Romans had desired. Three armies were set afoot. One under the command of Valerius Corvus went to relieve Capua, another, led by Cornelius, penetrated into Samnium, while the Latin allies crossed the Apennines in order to attack the Samnites in the rear, through the country of the Peligni.

The historians of Rome have, of course, preserved no record of the operations of the Latin army. Regarding the Roman legions, on the other hand, details are given in abundance.² Let

¹ Livy, vii. 29, *seq.* . . . *imminentis Capuæ colles*, now called *monte di Maddaloni*. Hannibal established his camp there in 215.

² Livy, vii. 32, *seq.* •

us not complain of this, for they offer us examples of devotion, which are always good to contemplate, and they show us the Roman in that camp-life in which he learned the secret of conquering the world. Cornelius, entangled among steep mountains, had allowed himself to be shut up in a narrow gorge; when he became aware of it, it was already too late to force a passage. A military tribune, Decius Mus, then approached the consul, and showed him a hill which commanded the hostile camp, and which the Samnites had neglected to occupy, and said to him: "Seest thou yonder rock? It will be our safety if we can manage to gain possession of it immediately. Give me the *principes* and *hastati* of a single legion;¹ as soon as I have climbed the summit with them, march immediately; the enemy will not dare to follow thee. As for us, the fortune of the Roman people and our courage will carry us through." The consul accepted the offer, Decius set out; and it was only as they gained the summit that the Samnites perceived them. The danger was now transferred to their side. Whilst their attention was drawn to this quarter, and they were turning



Decius Mus.²

their standards against Decius, the consul escaped. Decius, meanwhile, disguised in the cloak of a legionary, took advantage of the last rays of daylight to reconnoitre the position. When night had fallen, he called the centurions, and ordered them to assemble their soldiers in silence at the second watch. They had already traversed half the enemy's camp, when a Roman, in stepping over a sleeping Samnite, made his shield clash. At this noise the Samnites were alarmed. Decius then ordered his men to shout and to strike all whom they met. The uncertainty, the darkness, the shouts of the Romans, the groans of the wounded, caused confusion among the enemy, and Decius brought back his detachment safe and sound to the consular army. This success was not enough for him; he advised the consul to take advantage

¹ On the composition of a Roman legion, see below, at the end of chapter xxvii.

² Head of Pallas, with X, the mark of a denarius; on the reverse, ROMA, and the Dioscuri on horseback: under their feet a Gallic shield and trumpet. Silver coin of the Decii, as is proved by a coin restored by Trajan, of which a unique specimen is found in the museum of Denmark, and on which the same symbols exist accompanied by the legend: Decius Mus.

of the disarray of the enemy. The Samnites, attacked before they had recovered from their surprise, were defeated, their camp was taken, and the Romans inflicted a fearful slaughter on them.

On the morrow the consul commended Decius in the presence of the whole army. Besides the customary military presents, he gave him a golden crown, a hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilded horns; and to each of his soldiers an ox, two tunics, and a double ration of wheat for his whole life. After the consul, the legions which Decius had saved from death or dishonour, and the detachments which he had drawn out of a dangerous position, were also anxious to reward their deliverer, and amid universal acclamations the *obsidional* crown was placed upon his head. It was only made of grass or wild herbs, but it was the greatest military honour that a citizen could obtain, and the army alone had the right to bestow it. Decorated with these insignia Decius sacrificed the bull with the gilded horns before a rustic altar of Mars, and presented the hundred oxen to the *principes* and *hastati* who had followed him. To each of these same soldiers the other legionaries gave a pound of meal and a measure of wine. What wonderful men they were, to whom gratitude was as natural as devotion! It is easily understood how the memory of that glorious day coloured the whole life of Decius, and inspired him with the idea of his crowning sacrifice.

All the honour of this campaign was reserved for the other consul, Valerius Corvus. He, with Manlius, of whom we shall see more presently, was the hero of the Gallic wars. Beloved by the people, as were all of his house, he bore amid the camp and under the consular *paludamentum* his popular manners, affable with the soldiers, sharing their privations and fatigues, and setting all an example of courage. Six times he obtained the curule ædileship, the prætorship and consulship, twice the dictatorship and a triumph.¹ He had seen Camillus die, and the Romans trembling before a few Gallic bands; he saw the close of the Samnite war, which gave Rome the rule of all Italy, and he almost saw the commencement of the Punic wars, which left in her hands the empire of the world. And during the course of this century-

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 48.

long life he never failed the republic one day, in action or in council. In 343 he was in his third consulship. Being charged to drive the Samnites out of Campania, he went to seek them near Mount Gaurus, and inspired his troops with such ardour, that after the fight the prisoners acknowledged, says Livy,¹ that they thought they saw the eyes of the legionaries dart flames from under their helmets. All Capua came out to meet the conqueror. At Rome a triumph awaited him, gained by a second victory near Suessula. These successes resounded far and wide, the Faliscans asked to change the truce into an alliance, and the Carthaginians, friendly towards a power which was rising between their rivals the Greeks and Etruscans, sent an embassy to congratulate the senate, and to place a crown of gold in the Capitol.

When winter came on, the Romans, at the request of the inhabitants, placed garrisons in the Campanian towns. We have related the revolt of these legionaries and its consequences.² When the sedition was pacified, the senate, who felt that the State was shaken, and that the Latins threatened trouble, renounced the Samnite war, only requiring a year's pay and three months' provisions for the army of the consul Æmilius (341). For this price they abandoned Teanum and Capua to the Samnites. The Latins continued hostilities on their own account, in league with the Volscians, Aurunci, Sidicini, and Campanians; and when the Samnites came to Rome to complain, the senators replied with a blush that they had not the right to prevent their allies from making war on whomsoever they chose.³

II.—THE LATIN WAR (340-338).

Since the first Gallic invasion, Rome had always found enemies in Latium. Though common dangers had drawn several cities closer to her in 357, these did not accept her supremacy with the same resignation as in the days when the legions yearly

¹ Livy, vii. 33, 38.

² See page 218.

³ *In fœdere Latino nihil esse, quo bellare cum quibus ipsi velint prohibeantur.* (Livy, viii. 2).

came to defend them against the Æqui and the Volsci. The enfeeblement of those two nations and the departure of the Gauls having removed the fears of the Latins, their jealousy awoke; an alliance with the Sidicini and Campanians, whom Rome had abandoned, increased their confidence, and the successful issue of the revolt of the cohorts in Campania led them to believe that their own defection would also be successful. Soon there arrived at Rome two Latin prætors, Annius of Setia and Numicius of Circeii. They demanded what the plebeians had just obtained, equality of political rights, that is, that one of the two consuls and half the senators should be taken from among the Latins. On these conditions Rome would remain the capital of Latium. The national pride revolted. "Hear these blasphemies, O Jupiter!" cried Manlius; and he swore to stab the first Latin who should come to take his seat in the senate.

Annius replied with insulting words against Rome and her Jupiter Capitolinus. But the lightning flashed, says tradition, peals of thunder shook the curia, and as Annius quitted the Capitol to descend the flight of a hundred steps, he missed his footing and rolled to the bottom, where he lay lifeless. The god had avenged himself.¹

War was declared (340). Rome was now, by the defection of the Latin towns, obliged to fight with men accustomed to her discipline, her arms, and her tactics.² The danger was immense, but men's courage rose with the danger. The consuls at that time were Manlius, whose severity gained him the surname of Imperiosus, and Decius Mus, of that noble plebeian family, in which devotion to their country became hereditary. While the consuls raised the best levies, strengthened discipline, and made all preparations with the activity and resources which a centralised power afford, the senate kept up its alliance with Ostia, Laurentum, Ardea, the Hernicans, and perhaps Lanuvium, and secured the neutrality of Fundi and Formiæ, and the favourable regards of the Campanian aristocracy. But the most important aid reached it from Samnium, the treaty of peace between the

¹ Livy (viii. 6), who wishes to reconcile this legend with the conditions of history, only speaks of a fall followed by a swoon.

² Livy, viii. 12, 13.

two nations being changed into a treaty of offensive alliance. In the first days of spring the Roman army quietly crossed the country of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Samnites, reinforced on the way from the forces of their new allies, eager with the hope of plunder in the rich valleys of the Campanians. While the consular army was arriving secretly by this bold march in the neighbourhood of Capua, another, under the prætor, Pap. Crassus, protected the city, and held in check the Latins who had not joined on their way through Campania the forces destined to invade Samnium.

The battle took place at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, near a brook called Vesperis. All the nations of central Italy met there, the Romans with the Hernicans and Sabellian tribes; the Latins with the Oscan nations who dwelt between the Numicius and the Silarus. It might have been called a struggle between the two ancient Italian races. Before the battle a Tusculan, named Geminus Metius, challenged to a single combat the consul's son, whom he had recognised at the head of a troop of knights. "Wilt thou," he cried, after the exchange of some boasts on either side, "wilt thou measure thyself with me. It will then be seen how much the Latin horseman excels the Roman."

Manlius accepted, and conquered. He returned, surrounded with soldiers rejoicing in this happy omen, to offer the spoils of the vanquished to his father; but he had fought without orders, and for this war in which the



Priest of Bellona.¹

combatants had so much in common—arms, tactics, and language—in which so many soldiers had ties of family and military comradeship with both sides, an edict of the consuls had strictly forbidden any one to leave the ranks, even in the hope of striking a lucky blow. Discipline had been violated. Like Brutus, the consul overcame the father, and the young Manlius was beheaded. The army bent beneath this iron hand.

On the day of battle, the left wing, commanded by Decius,

¹ From a funeral stele, with the cage and bird which served to take the auspices.

began to give way. The consul called the high pontiff to him, and with veiled head and a javelin under his foot he invoked Janus, Mars, and Bellona,¹ and pronounced the sacred formulæ which, for the safety of the legions, dedicated himself and the hostile army to the gods of the lower world. Then, mounted on his war-horse, and clad in all his armour, with his body wrapped in his toga,² he rushed into the midst of the enemy's ranks, where he soon fell pierced with many blows. This religious preparation, this heroic devotion, witnessed by both armies, the belief that the blood of this voluntary victim had redeemed that of the Roman army, inspired the consular legions with the certainty of victory, and the Latins with as great a certainty of defeat. Three-quarters of the Latin army were left upon the field of battle, and Campania was reconquered at a blow. A skilful manœuvre on the part of Manlius, who brought up his reserves after the Latins, deceived by a stratagem, had engaged all their forces, had decided the victory. The remnant of the beaten army rallied at Vescia among the Aurunci. Numicius led thither some levies hastily raised. But a second victory, which threw open Latium, broke up the league; several towns tendered their submission, and on the 18th of May Manlius entered Rome in triumph (340).

The war was not yet finished: the senate hastened, however, to award the punishments and rewards. Capua lost the country of Falernum, so noted for its wine; but sixteen hundred Campanian knights, who had remained faithful to the cause of Rome, received the rights of citizenship, with an annual pay of 450 denarii each, levied on the rest of the inhabitants. This was about £20,000 of English money, paid annually by the Campanian people for the treason of its aristocracy. The Latin cities which had just submitted were also deprived of a portion of their land. This was distributed among the citizens, giving 2 *jugera* a head in Latium, and 3 in the Falernian country.³

Meanwhile Manlius, having fallen sick, appointed Crassus

¹ *Janus, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, Diique Manes.* The gods named by Decius are the old Italian divinities, with Janus at their head: the *divi Novensiles* are the new gods. Cf. Cincius ap. Arnob., iii. 38.

² *Ipse incinctus cinctu Gabino.* (Livy, viii. 9.)

³ Livy, viii. 11. •

dictator to complete the reduction of Latium. An expedition against Antium, which led to no results, was an encouragement for the towns which had remained in arms. A victory gained by Publius Philo did not efface a check sustained by his colleague at the siege of Pedum. The republic, it is true, was at this period disturbed by troubles which led to the dictatorship and



Temple of the giants at Cumæ.¹

laws of Publius; but it was the last act of this long drama. Revolution, successful at home, was successful, too, abroad, and the first event of the new era was the total submission of Latium.

Antium, on the coast, and Pedum, situated in front of Mount Algidus, were the two last bulwarks of the league. The consuls of the year 338 divided between them the attack on these two places. Manlius marched against the first and beat the Latins in the plain near Asturia; Furius took the second, in spite of all the efforts

¹ Taken from the *Bibliothèque nationale*. It should rather be called the temple of the Giant, for these ruins belong to a small edifice from which was taken a colossal statue of Jupiter seated, which is now in the museum at Naples.

of the Latins of the mountains. From this time resistance ceased, and all the towns one after another opened their gates.

It was necessary to decide on the fate of the vanquished. This was the first time the senate came to settle matters of such grave interest. They did it with such prudence that the measures taken on this occasion ensured the fidelity of the Latins for ever, and were invariably repeated for three centuries in all countries conquered by the republic. In the first place the inhabitants were forbidden general assemblies, leagues, to make war, contract marriage or acquire landed property outside their territory.¹ The Latin confederation was thus dissolved, and Rome had now before her nothing but small towns condemned to isolation; the senate, moreover, awakened by an unequal distribution of offices and privileges those rivalries and municipal jealousies always so rife in Italian cities. The towns nearest Rome were attached to her fortunes by the concession of the rights of citizenship and of



The serpent of
Juno Sospita.²

voting. Tusculum got the first of these rights, not the second. Lanuvium, Aricia, Peduni, Nomentum, and doubtless Gabii had both, and in the year 332 two new tribes, *Mæcia* and *Scaptia*, were formed of their inhabitants. With Lanuvium the consuls stipulated that they should have free access to the temple of Juno Sospita, in which the consuls came yearly to offer solemn sacrifices. In this sanctuary was nourished a serpent, which is often represented on the coins.



The Rostra.⁴

Beyond this first line of towns, which had become Roman, and which protected the capital from the sea to the mountains of the Sabine country, Tibur and Præneste³ retained their independence, but lost a part of their territory, Privernum lost three quarters, Velitræ and Antium the whole. Antium delivered up her

¹ *Cæteris Latinis populis connubia commerciaque et concilia inter se ademerunt.* Livy, viii. 14.)

² Girl approaching the serpent of Juno Sospita; below, FABATI. Reverse of a silver coin of the Roscian family. For the worship of Juno Sospita, see page 78.

³ Roman citizens condemned to exile could retire into these two towns.

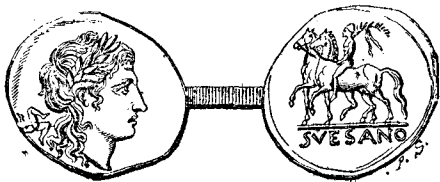
⁴ The coin which represents them is a denarius of M. Lollius Palicanus, who, being tribune in the year 71, restored to the tribuneship the powers of which Sulla had deprived it. The *gens Lollia* consecrated this memory by a coin bearing on one side a head of liberty, and on the other the platform for speeches, the *rostra*, which was in some sort raised by Palicanus.

war-ships, the beaks¹ of which went to ornament the platform of the Forum, and was forbidden to arm others in future. At Velitræ the walls were razed and their senate removed beyond the Tiber. The important position of Sora had been for some time occupied by a Roman garrison; Antium, Velitræ, Privernum, and a few years later Anxur or Terracina and Fregellæ, which commanded the two roads from Latium into Campania, received colonies. Thus old Latium was guarded by towns henceforth well-disposed, and the country of the Volscians by numerous colonists. Among the Aurunci, Fundi, and Formiæ, in Campania Capua, whose knights guaranteed its fidelity, the great city of Cumæ, Suessula, Atella, and Acerræ obtained, as an inducement to remain in alliance with Rome, the rights of citizenship without the suffrage, or, as it was then called, the *rights of Cærites* (338 B.C.)²



Coin of Cales.⁴

In the following year the Sidicini of Teanum and Cales attacked the Aurunci, who inhabited a volcanic mountain, the Cortinella, the highest peak of which rises 3,200 feet above the plain of Campania. Fearing, no doubt, starvation there, the Aurunci quit-
ted their eyrie and took refuge at Suessa, which still exists (Sessa), half way up the hill, above a fertile plain, the last undulations of which reach to the sea. The senate which never abandoned an ally, as they never forgot an enemy, hastened to send to their succour the two consular armies and their best general, Valerius Corvus. Cales was taken³ and guarded by a colony of



Coin of Suessa.⁵

¹ The *rostra* or brazen beaks of galleys filled the place of the rams of our ironclads.

² Livy, viii. 10, 14.

³ Livy, viii. 16; in 335.

⁴ Head of Minerva; on the reverse, CALENO; Victory in a two horsed chariot, galloping. Didrachma, or double denarius in silver.

⁵ Silver didrachma, bearing on the obverse a laurel-crowned head of Apollo, behind, the *triquetra*, which seems to show Sicilian manufacture: on the reverse, the word SVESANO, and a horseman victorious in a race that perhaps took place in Sicily, which would explain both the

2,500 men; Teanum doubtless asked for peace, at least after this period there is no more mention of the Sidicini. The Ausones also disappear, the Volscians have not been mentioned since the disaster of Antium; the Rutuli no longer give any signs of life; most of the Latins are citizens of Rome; the Æqui, Sabines, and Hernici reappear once more, some to relapse immediately, vanquished and broken, into the obscurity of municipal independence, others to lose themselves in the great city. Thus the state of central Italy was simplified; to a variety of nations there succeeds Roman unity. From the Ciminian forest to the banks of the Volturnus, a single nation holds sway. But the *malaria* follows the legions. The busy cities of the Latin and Campanian coast lose their activity with their independence. The struggle against this invading nature relaxes, the harbours become blocked, the canals are choked up, the rivers spread abroad into unreclaimed swamps, which, beneath a fiery sky, continually produce and destroy innumerable organisms, filling the air in their decomposition with the seeds of death. In these depopulated countries fertile fields become deadly solitudes.

Rome herself suffered by it. In the year 331 a pestilence desolated the city. Numbers of the senate had already succumbed, when a slave came to the ædiles and declared that the victims had died by poison. An inquiry was held, and in their terror people found some one on whom to lay the guilt, as in our own days the mob did, even in Paris, when cholera decimated them. A hundred and ninety matrons were condemned. After this holocaust had been offered to terror and folly, it was thought that so many domestic crimes must arise from the anger of the gods, and in order to appease them a dictator was appointed, who, with all religious pomp, went solemnly to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter.¹

A few years previously (337) Rome had again afforded one of those sad spectacles which we have already described.² The Vestal Minucia, who had awakened suspicion by an over-attention to her

fineness of the coin and the presence of the *triquetra*, the symbol of the island with three promontories.

¹ Livy, viii. 18.

² See pages 106, 107.

dress, was accused of having violated her vows. She received an order from the pontiffs to cease the discharge of her duties, and not to enfranchise any of her slaves, in order that they might be examined by torture. The evidence confirming the charges, as it always did in these cases, the unhappy girl was buried alive near the Colline Gate.¹ These priests, who were such vigilant guardians of the purity of the worship of Vesta, were as pitiless as their fierce goddess.

III.—SECOND SAMNITE WAR (326-312).

While the results of the Latin war gave the republic a territory 140 miles in extent, from north-east to south-west, and 58 miles from east to west,² a king of Epirus, Alexander the Molossian, uncle to Alexander the Great, was attempting to do in west what the son of Philip accomplished in the east. Having been invited to aid the Tarentines, he beat the Lucanians and Samnites near Pæstum, and consequently at the very door of Campania, made them deliver



Alexander.³

up to him three hundred hostages whom he sent into Epirus, and deprived the Bruttians of Terina and Sipontum. After he had conquered, he wished to organise, and endeavoured to constitute at Thurium an assembly of the nations of Southern Italy, in the hope of governing it as the kings of Macedonia swayed the synod at Corinth.⁴ In the Latin war the alliance of the Samnites had saved Rome. But since there was no longer a hostile nation between the allies, their jealousy re-awakened. Accordingly the success of Alexander was hailed with joy at Rome, and as that prince had complained of the piracies of the Antiates, who, in spite of the severe chastisement they had

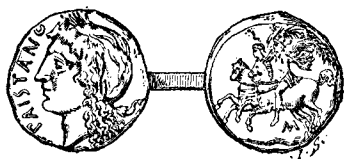
¹ Livy, viii. 15.

² From Sora to Antium.

³ Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter on the reverse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ, Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, and brother of Olympias. Thunderbolt and lance-head. Silver coin of Alexander I. King of Epirus.

⁴ Livy, viii. 17.

recently received, continued to sweep the seas, the opportunity was seized for making a treaty with him (332).¹ Some years



Coin of Pæstum.²

later Alexander was treacherously killed by a Lucanian (326); the dominion that he had established fell with him, and Rome gained no profit by the alliance, save in indicating to the Greeks of that region, whither they must look for help against the barbarians who surrounded them. About the same date Athens, seized with a sudden return of desire for conquest, settled somewhere on the shores of the Adriatic, at a spot which cannot be determined, a military and trading colony for the protection of her commerce against the pirates of the Etruscan towns of Atria and Spina. The decree of foundation, of which a fragment has been discovered, was worthy of that city, still



Merchant Vessel under sail.⁴

great in her decay. "We desire," it says, "that all who sail in this sea, whether Greeks or barbarians, may find safety there under the protection of Athens."³ Italy and Greece, those great divisions of the ancient world, were combining their interests more and more.

In a few years a Spartan comes to seek his fortune on the shores of the Adriatic, and Pyrrhus renews the attempt of Alexander the Molossian upon the Italian peninsula.

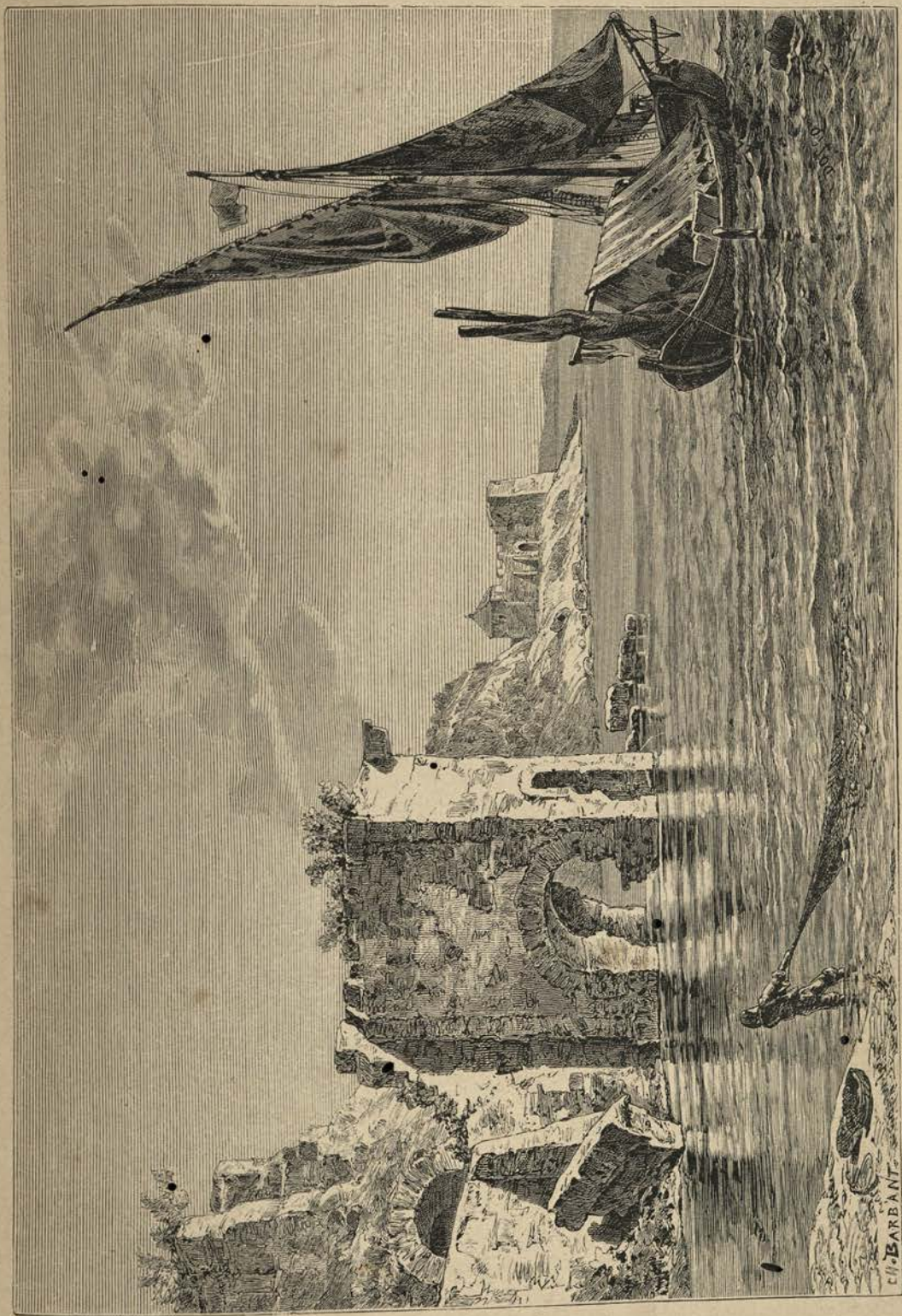
Shortly after the treaty concluded with the king of Epirus, the senate had secured the alliance of the Gauls. This league of the Romans with the barbarians on the North of Italy, and with a prince who was the representative, as it were, of all the Greeks settled in the south of the peninsula, was a threat to all the Sabellian tribes. The two peoples at first kept up an undeclared war, which envenomed their hatred without deciding anything. In 331 the Samnites crossed the Liris and destroyed Fregellæ. The senate would not consider it a *casus belli*; but a Roman colony

¹ Polyb., *Hist.*, ii. 18.

² PAISTANO. Head of Ceres crowned with wheat. On the reverse, two horsemen racing. Silver didrachma.

³ Decree of 329. See *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1836, p. 132, *seq.*

⁴ Engraved gem from the Berlin collection.



Ruins of Antium.

went and quietly rebuilt the walls. The Samnites threatened Fabrateria, the senate declared the town to be under Roman protection. In 333 they had secretly stirred up the Sidicini, Rome subdued this nation and colonised Cales. In 329 they aroused the Privernates; Vitruvius Vaccus, a noble of Fundi, doubtless at their instigation, drew Fundi and Formiæ into the movement. These two towns carried on the war without vigour, and soon dropped it. Privernum, left alone, held out against the two consular armies for many months. Vaccus, who had taken refuge there, was led in the triumph of the consuls, and then beheaded, and the senators of the town were deported across the Tiber. As for the remainder of the inhabitants, their fate was discussed in the senate. "Will you be faithful?" asked the consul of their deputies. "Yes," they replied, "if your conditions are good, otherwise the peace will not last long." The senate were desirous of gaining over these men so proud in defeat; Privernum was allowed the rights of the city without the suffrage, but its walls were destroyed.¹

Thus the Samnites had failed at Fregellæ, Fabrateria, Cales, and Privernum. As far as the Vulturnus all was now Roman; they turned to Campania to find enemies to the republic.

On the false report that the plague was desolating the city, and that war had been declared against the Samnites, the Greeks of Palæopolis² had attacked the Romans scattered through Campania. When the fetiales came to demand justice, they only met with challenge and insult, and four thousand Samnites entered into the place. To the complaints of the Romans about this violation of treaties the Samnites replied by a demand for the evacuation of Fregellæ; the deputies offered to submit the affair to the decision of an arbitrator. "Let the sword decide it," said the chiefs, "we appoint a meeting with you in Campania."³

An imposing religious ceremony preceded the hostilities. The gods were taken from the inmost sanctuaries where their statues were set up, were laid on couches covered with sumptuous

¹ The Privernates were comprised in the Ufentine tribe, formed in 318, at the same time as the Falerian tribe. Fest., s.v. *Ufentina*: Livy, ix. 20; Diod. xix. 10; Val. Max. VI. ii. 1.

² Palæopolis, or the Old Town, a colony of Cumæ, in the neighbourhood of *Neapolis* (Naples), the New Town.

³ Livy, viii. 23.

tapestry, and invited to a feast served by the priests, the *lectisternium*. The temples were thrown open, the roads were blocked with the faithful, who came to behold with devotion the god whom they confounded with his image. As no unlucky omen stopped the accomplishment of these rites, the divine guests of Rome seemed to have accepted her offering and promised their aid.

The war dallied, however, in the first year (326), although the senate had secured the support of the Lucanians and Apulians, who were to take the Samnites in the rear. The Lucanians being persuaded by the Tarentines, already jealous of the Roman power, changed sides almost immediately; but the industrious and commercial population of Apulia had too much to fear from the neighbourhood of the Samnites not to remain in alliance with Rome, at least, so long as fortune favoured her. The defection of the Lucanians was, moreover, compensated by the capture of Palæopolis and the alliance with Naples, that is to say, with all the Campanian Greeks.

The blockade of Palæopolis had been the occasion of an important innovation. In order to continue the operations against that town, Publius Philo had been continued in his command under the title of *pro-consul*.¹ By paying the same soldiers, the senate were able to retain them under the standards so long as public necessity required it; by the pro-consulship, it could leave at their head the leaders who had gained its confidence and theirs. The annual election of the magistrates guaranteed liberty, but endangered empire. The institution of the pro-consulship, without affecting this great principle of Roman government, destroyed the danger of it. The Genucian law was thus happily evaded,² it is almost always pro-consuls who finish the wars, more especially outside Italy, in countries whose resources and dispositions must be leisurely studied by the generals, where negotiations and fighting must be carried on at the same time. Fabius Rullianus, Scipio, Flaminius, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Cæsar had only this title when they gained their most brilliant victories.

The treaty with the Campanian Greeks had driven the Samnites out of Campania, and a mountain warfare, that is,

¹ [The Latin form is not *pro-consul* but *proconsule*, according to the best MSS.—*Ed.*]

² See page 288.

sudden attacks, obscure but bloody fights, and heroic efforts productive of no results, replaced the great warfare of the plains. The Romans there brought their tactics, arms, and discipline to perfection. They issued from this struggle the best soldiers in the world. Roman vanity is accused of having multiplied the victories of the legions; in one campaign Livy reckons fifty-three thousand killed, and thirty-one thousand prisoners! There is an evident exaggeration in these figures; but it is in the nature of this kind of war to be interminable. Though the Samnites had but a small number of walled towns, every rock was a stronghold for them. On the other hand, it was scarcely possible that their bands, formed of brave but ill-disciplined volunteers, should not be beaten in almost every encounter by troops whose organisation was superior to anything the ancient world had yet known. The two armies resembled the two peoples; the one a fragile confederation, a precarious union of tribes unaccustomed to counsel and action in common; the other, a mass of two hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, animated with the same spirit, obeying the same influence; the latter, an immense force concentrated in a single hand, in the service of a single interest, the former, an indomitable but divided courage, pursuing different aims.

Several obscure towns captured from the Samnites on the banks of the Volturnus, the pillaging of a few valleys, the rising and defeat of the Vestinians—these are the only events known in the first years of the war. But the dryness of the annals is suddenly broken, in 324, by the brilliant story of the quarrel of the dictator, Papirius, with Fabius Rullianus, his Master of the Horse. The dictator, not having obtained sufficient auguries at the camp, had gone to Rome to seek more favourable ones. He had forbidden Fabius to fight during his absence, since the sacred chickens did not promise victory. But a good opportunity having occurred, Fabius took advantage of it and conquered the Samnites. At the news of this infraction of discipline and defiance of the gods, Papirius left Rome, hastened to the camp, and called the Master of the Horse before his tribunal. "I would fain know of thee, Q. Fabius, since the dictatorship is the supreme power to which both the consuls, who are endued with royal authority, and the prætors, who are created under the same auspices as the

consuls, obey, I would fain know of thee, if thou thinkest it right or not that a Master of Horse should submit to his orders? I ask thee, moreover, if, convinced as I was of the uncertainty of the auspices, I ought to have left to chance the safety of the State in despite of our holy ceremonies, or renewed the auspices, in order to do nothing without a clear knowledge that the gods were on our side? I ask thee finally, if, when a religious scruple hinders the dictator from acting, the Master of the Horse could have any excuse for doing so? Answer, but answer only this, and not a word beyond." Fabius would have spoken of his victory. Papirius interrupted him and called the lictor: "Prepare the rods and the axe," said he. At these words murmurs were heard, and a sedition was on the point of breaking out among the legions. Happily night came on, and the execution was, according to custom, deferred to the morrow. In the interval Fabius escaped from the camp, and arrived at Rome, where, by virtue of his office, he called together the senate. His father, who had been dictator and thrice consul, began to inveigh against the violence and injustice of Papirius, when the noise of the lictors was heard as they drove aside the crowd, and the dictator appeared. In vain the senators tried to appease his wrath; he ordered the culprit to be seized. The elder Fabius then descended to the comitium, whither the people had flocked, and appealed to the tribunes. "Rods and axes," he cried, "for a victor! What punishment would he then have reserved for my son if the army had perished? Is it possible that he through whom the town is now full of joy, for whom the temples are now open and thanksgivings are being returned to the gods; is it possible that this man should be stripped of his raiment, and lacerated by the rods under the eyes of the Roman people, in view of the Capitol, of its gods, whom in two combats he invoked, and not in vain?" The senators, the tribunes, the people themselves were for the glorious culprit; Papirius remained inflexible. He called to mind the sanctity of the auspices and the majesty of the *imperium*, which must be respected; he showed the consequences of an act of disobedience left unpunished. "The discipline of the family, the city and the camp are all closely connected," said he; "will you, tribunes of the people, be responsible to posterity for the evils

which will follow any infringement of the rules of our ancestors? Then devote yourselves to lasting reproach to redeem the fault of Fabius." The tribunes, troubled and uneasy, kept silence, but the whole people betook themselves to supplication; the aged Fabius and his son fell at the dictator's feet. "It is well," said Papirius, "military discipline and the majesty of command, which to-day seemed so near perishing, have triumphed. Fabius is not absolved from his fault; he owes his pardon to the Roman people, to the tribunitian power which has asked for mercy and not justice." The pardon was not, however, complete. Papirius appointed another Master of Horse, and forbade Fabius, whom he could not depose, to exercise any magisterial act.¹

A fine story and a splendid scene! Papirius, contending alone, in the name of the law, against the senate, the tribunes, and the people itself, well represents that Roman firmness which yielded neither to nature, nor fortune, nor the efforts of men. Such a rock was necessary to bear the empire of the world. But to gain that empire there was needed, too, the respect for social discipline and the profound sense of responsibility, which is incumbent in public life upon one and all. This is why the old story is always good to read.

On his return to the camp Papirius beat the Samnites, who sued for peace (323). Only a truce was concluded, which was as necessary to the Romans as to their enemies. Disquieting symptoms seemed to announce that a renewal of the Latin war was approaching. Tusculum, one of the oldest allies of Rome, wavered in its fidelity; Velitræ and Privernum claimed the recovery of their independence. The wisdom of the senate averted the storm. Instead of employing force, they disarmed the rebel cities by conceding them the full rights of citizenship. And the man, who in 323 was dictator of Tusculum, is seen, a few months later, seated in the senate as consul of the Roman people.

In this same year Alexander died at Babylon. Several Italian nations had sent ambassadors to him there.

The truce had not expired before the Samnites took up arms again, encouraged by the defection of a part of the Apulians. Fabius broke up this coalition by a victory, and by the recapture

¹ Livy, viii. 30-35.

of Luceria raised Roman influence in Apulia. The Samnites were thus driven back both east and west into their mountains, and not a single ally, even in the Marsie confederation, declared for them. Once more they asked for peace; as they could not deliver up Brunius Papius, the author of the last outbreak, alive—since he had killed himself—they sent his body to Rome. A refusal re-awakened their energy. They put at their head C. Pontius of Telesia, the son of the sage Heremnius, whom Cicero considered to



Valley of the Caudine Forks, near Caserta.¹

have been the friend of Archytas and Plato. The two consular armies were in Campania. Pontius had conveyed to them the false intelligence that Luceria, hard pressed by the whole Samnite army, was about to open its gates if succour were not promptly sent to it. In their zeal the consuls forgot prudence, and, taking the

¹ Taken from the *Bibliothèque nationale*. But there is much uncertainty as to the true position of the *Furculæ Caudinæ*. The most reliable opinion places the valley between Santa Agata and Moirano, on the road to Beneventum: a little river, the Isclero, runs through it. (Craven, *Tour through the Southern provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, p. 12-20.) As to the lost town of Caudium, it was situated, according to the Roman itineraries, on the Appian Way, 21 miles from Capua and 11 from Beneventum.

shortest way, entered the narrow valley of Caudium. Suddenly the enemy appeared, closing the outlets, and from the high rocks which commanded the narrow pass, threatened the four legions with inevitable destruction. A desperate struggle ensued; it doubtless lasted several days, at the end of which, as provisions failed, the Romans were forced to yield.¹ "Kill them all," said Herennius, the aged father of the Samnite general, "if you desire war; or send them back free, with their arms, if you prefer a glorious peace." Pontius wished to enjoy his triumph. He sent them back free, but dishonoured, with shame on their foreheads and an implacable hatred in their hearts. All who remained of forty thousand Romans had passed under the yoke, at their head the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, four legates, two quæstors, and twelve legionary tribunes. Six hundred knights, who were delivered up as hostages, answered for the peace sworn by the leaders of the army (321).

For the national pride this humiliation was worse than the disaster. There was universal mourning in the city. Twice a dictator was appointed, and twice did sinister omens compel the annulling of the election. At length Valerius Corvus, as interrex, raised to the consulship two of the greatest citizens of the republic, Papirius and the plebeian Publilius Philo. When the treaty was discussed in the senate, Postumius rose and said: "The Roman people cannot be bound by a treaty concluded without its approbation; but, in order to free the public faith, it is necessary to give up to the Samnites those who swore peace." As State interest silenced all scruples, the senate seemed to think that the blood of these voluntary victims would redeem the perjury, even with the gods; and the consuls, quæstors and tribunes, chained like slaves, were led by the fetiales to the Samnite army.² When they stood in the presence of Pontius: "I am a Samnite now," said Postumius, and striking the knee of the fetialis, he added: "I violate the sacred

¹ Livy (ix. 2-6) does not mention any battle, but Cicero (*de Sen.*, 12, and *de Offic.*, iii. 30) knew of it, and it was perhaps after the battle that the Roman army allowed itself to be entrapped in the Caudine forks.

² Livy, ix. 8-9; and Cicero, *de Offic.* iii. 20, justify the rupture of the treaty which had been concluded, *injussu populi senatusque*; and they are right. A general who has committed himself by his own fault, ought to get out of it at his own risk; he may stipulate by a *capitulation* for his army, but not by a *treaty* for his government.

character of an ambassador; let the Romans avenge this insult; they have now a just motive for war." "Is it permitted thus to mock the gods?" cried the Samnite general in indignation; "take your consuls back again, and let the senate keep the sworn peace, or let them send their legions back to the Caudine Forks."

Fortune rewarded injustice. The Samnites, it is true, surprised Fregellæ and massacred its defenders, in spite of their capitulation, and they roused Luceria; but the senate, boldly resuming the offensive, sent the two consuls into Apulia, which they did not again leave till they had given these faithless allies a bloody lesson. Publilius, at the head of the legions of Caudium, beat an army in Samnium, and set out for Apulia to rejoin Papirius, who had haughtily repulsed the intervention of the Tarentines, dispersed the enemy by an impetuous attack, and recaptured Luceria. He had there found the six hundred hostages, the arms and standards lost at Caudium, and had passed under the yoke seven thousand Samnite prisoners, with their chief, the noble but imprudent Pontius Herennius (320).

The successes of this campaign are a too brilliant reparation of the disasters of the preceding year not to lead us to suspect the fidelity of the *Annals*. As forty years later the Romans pretend to have wiped out the disgrace of the Allia, so they would fain have wiped out, in 320, that of the Caudine Forks; and, in order that this revenge might not be disputed, they showed how Apulia immediately entered into alliance with them again, and how the Samnites were obliged, in the year 318, to ask for a truce of two years. These hasty successes are doubtful, and this doubt is authorised by the events which followed.

The senate had just sent a prefect to Capua to dispense justice there, in reality, to supervise and restrain those restless spirits. This was to deprive the Campanians of a right allowed to the most obscure of the vanquished, and provoke a discontent of which the Samnites took advantage.² In rapid succession Rome heard of the capture and destruction of Plistia, that Fregellæ itself had been occupied, the colonists of Sora massacred, and Saticula, situated a few leagues from Capua, swept into the revolt.

¹ Diodorus (xx. 72) says that Luceria was reconquered in 314.

² Nuceria, on the Sarnus, to the south-east of Capua, had just revolted. (Diod., xix. 65.)

A dictator was at once sent against Saticula, which was strictly invested and taken, after a vain attempt on the part of the new allies to break through the Roman lines. But the Samnites, calling to arms every man of an age to fight, forced the dictator to retire upon the defiles of Lautulæ, between Terracina and Fundi. Whilst they followed Fabius in this direction, they left Apulia open to the consuls, who hastened thither to recapture Luceria. Two roads led from Rome into Campania, the upper one by the valley of the Trerus, a tributary of the Liris; the lower one, which was afterwards the Appian Way, across the Pontine Marshes. Fregellæ, which the enemy held, closed the former; by the second Fabius received a numerous body of men from Rome, who, coming up suddenly in the middle of the action against the Samnites, secured the victory for the Romans (315).

Each of the Italian cities, great or small, had two factions, as Rome used to have, but as fortunately for her, she had no longer; the party of the nobles and that of the people. The Roman senate, which held the direction of its external policy, was naturally led to seek the alliance of the aristocratic party. The popular party inclined to the opposite side, so that when war broke out between the two most powerful nations in the peninsula, each town had a Roman and a Samnite faction. Hence the continual defections which are seen in favour of one adversary or the other, according to the party which ruled for the moment in the city.

At Capua, for instance, the Romans had secured, for the rich, privileges which must necessarily have caused great irritation among the rest of the population. Accordingly a conspiracy was formed there for calling in the Samnites. The movement spread to the towns of the lower Liris, in the country of the *Aurunci*;¹ but in Latium no disturbance occurred. The senate had time to assemble its forces and to manage intrigues which opened to its legionaries the gates of Ausona, Minturnæ and Vescia, the inhabitants of which were massacred. After this war the name of the Aurunci disappears from history.² Ovidius and Novius, the

¹ Diod., xix. 76. Livy is much less explicit.

² Livy, ix. 25. *Nullus modus cædibus fuit, deletaque Ausonum gens.*

leaders of the revolt of Capua, killed themselves. Sora and Fregellæ fell into the hands of Rome again, and those of their inhabitants who had betrayed the Roman colonists were taken to Rome and there beheaded. It was a holocaust offered to the people; for, by this terrible execution the senate declared to all men that the citizen sent to a colony might count on watchful protection while he lived; and an inexorable vengeance when he died; and the ancients loved vengeance.

According to Livy, the army, after having recovered Campania, went in search of the Samnites not far from Caudium, and killed thirty thousand of them; a great slaughter, placed too near the Caudine Forks for us not to suspect the historian or the chroniclers copied by him, of having invented a double expiation of the insult there done to Roman military honour (314). The legions, however, acting on a plan wisely combined and perserveringly followed out, succeeded in once more driving the Samnites into the Apennines, and there enclosing them, east and west, with a line of fortresses. Suessa Aurunca, Interamna on the Liris, Casinum, and Luceria in Apulia, received Roman colonists. In order to keep watch over the Tarentine corsairs, who swept the Tyrrhenian sea, the senate also sent one to the island of Pontia. This measure was connected with the recent creation of a navy and the nomination of two maritime prefects.²



Flute-player.¹

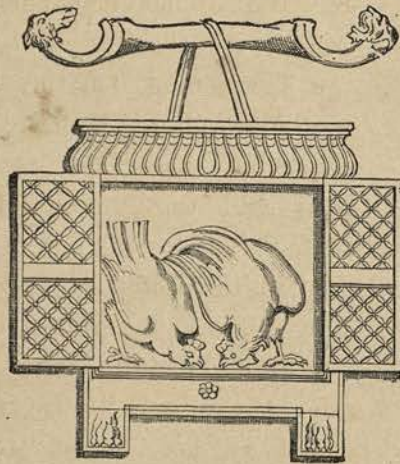
In the midst of these accounts of war, Livy places a grotesque incident, "little worthy of recital," says he, "if it did not refer to religion." It is, in fact, a detail which is not devoid of interest in the history of the manners of so grave and yet so frivolous a nation. Religious festivals, sacrifices, and even the observation of heavenly signs and funeral ceremonies, required the presence of flute-players, who had

¹ Bronze figurine from the national collection of France, No. 3,064 of Chabouillet's catalogue.

² *Duumviri navales*. (Livy, ix. 30.)

originally been brought from Etruria, and who formed a semi-religious corporation. The censors having forbidden them the sacred banquets of the temple of Jupiter, to which they had been hitherto admitted, they all retired in anger to Tibur. The senate, much alarmed at the interruption of a necessary rite, ordered them to return; but they refused to re-enter Rome, and in order to make them return to their religious duties, it was necessary to adopt a stratagem. One feast-day, under pretence of giving, by the aid of music, more solemnity to the festivities, the wealthy of Tibur invited them, and made them drink until they became very drunken. They were then placed on chariots and carried back to Rome, where they were left in the middle of the Forum. When they awoke in the morning all the people were gathered round them. The privilege they had enjoyed was restored, and to seal the reconciliation, a feast of three days was instituted, a kind of masquerade, of which they were the heroes, and which was celebrated with songs, dances, and mad gaiety.¹

¹ Livy, ix. 30; Ovid, *Fast.*, vi. 651, *seq.*



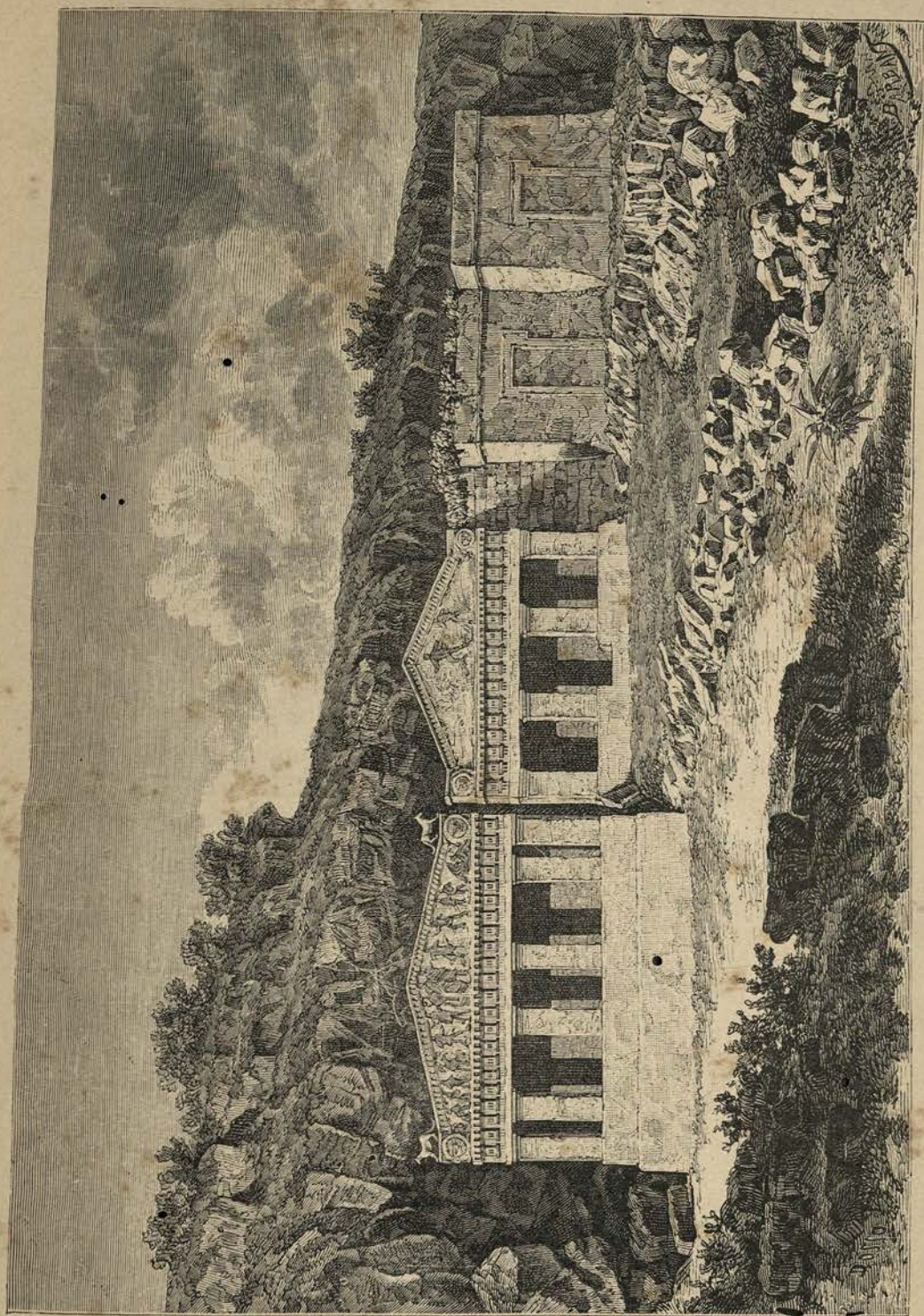
In the camp it was usual to consult omens taken from the appetite of birds, generally chickens. The *templum*, or enclosed space for observing the signs, was traced on the ground; the *pullarius* brought thither the cage and opened it, and then gave the fowls food. When they flew eagerly upon the grain, especially when they let some of it fall from their beaks, the omen was fortunate. This could be easily managed by making the fowls fast or by giving them a friable paste. And yet, though they thus tricked Providence, the Romans, and even Papirius Cursor, as we have just seen on page 335, believed none the less in the omen obtained.

CHAPTER XV.

COALITION OF THE SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS AND SENONES (311-280).

I.—THIRD SAMNITE WAR (311-303).

FOR sixteen years the Samnites fought alone; but at last the other nations began to stir. The forty years' truce with the Tarquinians was drawing to an end, and the Etruscan cities, which no longer heard the Gallic bands thundering on the other side of the Apennines, saw with dread the fortune of Rome increasing with every campaign. Samnite emissaries excited them, and the ancient league of the lucumonies was again formed. While the legions were detained in Samnium at the siege of Bovianum, fifty or sixty thousand Etruscans came and surrounded Sutrium, the fortress which protected the approaches to Rome from the north. If this place were carried, it was but a few hours march to the foot of the Janiculum. Since the battle of the Allia the senate always kept two legions in the city. This reserve attempted to raise the blockade of Sutrium; an indecisive battle kept the enemy in check until the arrival of reinforcements led by Fabius, the hero of this war. The capture of Bovianum rendered the other consular army available, and the senate was desirous of sending that also to the besieged town. But the Samnites broke into Apulia, it was necessary to follow them. Fabius was thus left alone. The Etruscan lines were too strong to be carried, and they declined to be drawn from them. Fabius left them there, warned the senate to protect Rome with a reserve army, and then, without awaiting the chance of an order that might upset his bold plan, he crossed the Ciminian Forest, which his brother had explored in the disguise of a Tuscan shepherd, penetrated the rich lands of central Etruria, passing near Castel d'Asso and Norchia—now cities of the dead,



Restoration of Tombs near Norchia.

but then flourishing towns—and slew sixty thousand Umbrians or Etruscans near Perugia. Three of the most powerful cities, Perugia, Cortona and Arretium, asked a truce of thirty years. Sutrium was saved, the confederacy dissolved,¹ and the massacre of the *gens Fabia* on the banks of the Cremera, in 479 B.C., was at last avenged.

Meanwhile Marcus Rutilus, who had been sent against the Samnites, had almost fallen into another Caudine Forks: he had only escaped from the field of battle by a partial defeat, and Samnium was meditating an heroic effort. War was ardently advocated all through the mountains, the bravest were called upon to take the oath of the holy law. The senate had recourse to the man who had repaired the disaster of Caudium, the aged Papirius.² Age had weighed down his body, bowed his lofty stature, and chilled his strength; he was no longer the Roman Achilles, but he was still one of the first generals in the republic. The appointment of a dictator belonged to Fabius, and the consul had not forgotten his resentment as former Master of the Horse. He hesitated a whole day, but patriotism at length prevailed, and at midnight, far from all profane eyes and ears, he named Papirius. Junius Bubuleus, the conqueror of Bovianum, Valerius Corvus, and a Decius were his lieutenants. The Samnite army was ready. Numbers of warriors had sworn before the altars, amid imposing ceremonies, the solemn oath to conquer or die; and wearing their most splendid armour, some, bright-coloured cloaks and golden shields, others, white tunics and silver shields, all with their helmets crested with brilliant plumes, they marched to battle, adorned for the sacrifice as if for a triumph. They fell, and when Papirius went up to the Capitol, long trains of chariots passed along the triumphal way loaded with the arms of the Samnite *devoti*. The shops of the Forum were decorated with them, and the Campanian allies carried some of them back to their towns as glorious trophies (309).

¹ Diod., xx. 35. According to Livy, the battle took place near Sutrium, on the return of the legions from Etruria. He strangely exaggerates the terror inspired by the Ciminian Forest, which was dreaded by merchants, as are all *marches*, like the Scottish border, but which an army had already traversed in a war against the Vulsinii, in 390. Tarquinii itself is situated north of the south-west portion of the *Ciminus Saltus*, now Monte di Viterbo.

² The Romans had named him Cursor, like Achilles, and would have opposed him to Alexander, says Livy, had that prince turned his arms westward.

The fears of the senate were not yet dissipated; Papirius retained the dictatorship all that year, and Fabius remained as pro-consul at the head of the legions in Etruria; there were no consular elections.

Between the Tiber and the Ciminian Forest was a lake, which Pliny the younger described with childish satisfaction,¹



Etruscan Warrior (Standard bearer).²



Samnite Warrior.³

and which is now only a pool of sulphurous water, the *laghetto di Bassano*, formerly the *lacus Vadimonius*, famous for having twice seen the fortune of Etruria fail upon its shores. The reason is that the defile, scarce a mile wide, which extends from the lake to the spurs of the Cimino, is the easiest passage that lies open to an army desirous of going from Rome to the upper valley of the Tiber.⁴ The Etruscans had hastened thither for a last effort.

¹ *Epist.* viii. 20. Cf. Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 167. ² From a vase in the Campana collection.

³ *Atlas of the Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, vol. viii. pl. 21.

⁴ The *Mons Ciminus*, which in ancient times was covered with a thick forest, is now quite bare, which changes the aspect of the place.

They had displayed every religious pomp, and declared the sacred law which devoted to the infernal gods all who fled; each soldier had chosen a companion in arms, at whose side he must fight and conquer or fall. The shock was terrible. Two of the Roman lines were broken; the third, in which were the *triarii*, maintained the combat, and the horsemen having dismounted, decided

Samnite Warrior.²Samnite Warrior.²

the victory. "The strength of the nation," says Livy,¹ "was destroyed in this battle."

The Etruscans being crushed at Lake Vadimon and again conquered near Perugia which had revolted, and this place being occupied by a Roman garrison, the other cities were compelled to sue for peace, and Etruria was finally subdued. Such were the services of Fabius in this year.³ When Decius entered the country

¹ ix. 39: *Cæsum in acie quod roboris fuit.*

² From a vase in the Campana collection.

³ Diodorus does not mention all these victories of Fabius, which were family traditions embellished by imagination and vanity.

on the return of spring, he found nothing but people anxious to negotiate.

Fabius had gone to carry his fortune, that is, his renown and perseverance, into Samnium. The Marsic confederation had



Samnite Horseman (after a vase in the Campana collection).

furnished the Samnites with numerous volunteers, but it had not openly declared for them. As in the early days of Rome, her enemies were preparing victories for her by their want of union. ~~When~~ the Samnites were enfeebled and the Etruscans overwhelmed, the Marsians and Pelignians saw that their cause was that of all Italy. But it was too late. Fabius overcame them, subdued

Nuceria, which had revolted seven years before, and, learning that his colleague was retreating before a large body of Umbrians, he went to his aid, dispersed the Umbrian army, and received the submission of their towns (308). A fresh pro-consulship gave him an opportunity for fresh victories. He surrounded a Samnite army near Allifæ, and obliged it to surrender before the eyes of the Tarentine ambassadors, who, deluded by their pride, wished to take upon themselves the office of mediators (308).

Among the prisoners were some Æquians and Hernicans.¹ An inquiry ordered by the senate drove the latter to arms. Having met in the great circus of Anagni, they resolved to support their brothers of the mountains; but Marcius had time to beat the Hernicans in three encounters, and to oblige the nation to submit to the discretion of the senate, who deprived its towns, with the exception of three which had remained faithful, of their independence and a portion of their territory.² Thence Marcius hastened to set free his colleague Cornelius, who was blockaded by the Samnites, and slew thirty thousand of them. For five months the legions overran Samnium, burning houses and farms, cutting down fruit trees, killing even the animals.³ On their return their general had a triumph, and an equestrian statue was erected to him (306 B.C.).

The plebeians were desirous of glorifying by this honour a consul of their own order, and to the credit of the senate it must be said, that when in later times all the statues which encumbered the Forum were removed, that of Marcius was retained: Cicero saw it there.⁴



Etruscan Mars.⁴

¹ Livy, ix. 42.

² Livy, ix. 43. They received the rights of citizenship without the suffrage, and with a prohibition of any intercourse between them. The towns excepted were Alatrium, Ferentinum, and Verulæ. These preserved the *jus connubii et commercii* among themselves.

³ Diod., xx. 90. It is, says Polybius, a custom of the Romans; they desire thereby to inspire a more profound terror.

⁴ Or warrior with a helmet surmounted by a high-crested ridge. Bronze figure from the national collection of France, No. 2,977 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

⁵ *Philipp.*, vi. 13.

The Samnites held out for one more campaign, in spite of the ravaging of their lands. It was only when they saw their strongholds in the hands of the legions that they decided to sue for the termination of a war which had lasted more than a generation. They retained their territory and all the outward signs of independence, but acknowledged the majesty of the Roman people. Circumstances were to define what the senate meant by the Roman majesty (304).¹

This peace left the Etruscans isolated and exposed to the anger of Rome. For more than a century this restless nation had allowed themselves to be forgotten. Driven back by the Gallic invasions into the mountains to the west of Lake Fucinus, and restrained by Tibur and Præneste, which barred the road into Latium against them, they had taken no part in the Latin war. But the senate, remembering that some Æquians had fought in the Samnite ranks at Allifæ, sent against them the legions which had just returned from Samnium. In fifty days forty-one places were taken and burnt; then a part of their territory was confiscated, and they were allowed the citizenship without the suffrage, which placed them in the condition of subjects (304). Five years later, owing to the fear of a Gallo-Samnite coalition, they were raised to the rank of citizens, and formed into two



War Vessel with beak
(rostrum.)²

new tribes, the Aniensis and Terentina. A short war with the Marsi, who had been roused by the establishment of a Roman colony at Carseoli, and a treaty concluded with the Vestini and Piceni, are the sole events of the following years. Rome thus placed a whole mass of friendly nations between the Etruscans, the Gauls, and the Samnites, whom she had conquered but not disarmed.

An episode of this time makes us think of our own tragic story of the caves of Dahra. Rome did not disdain to watch over those agitations with which wars end, but with which they also recommence. Men whom Livy calls brigands, but who were doubtless patriots refusing to accept a foreign yoke, overran the Umbrian country in bands. Two thousand of them had taken

¹ Livy says (ix. 45) : *fœdus antiquum redditum*.

² Engraved gem from the Berlin Museum.

refuge in a deep cavern. A consul tracked them thither, and as the soldiers who tried to penetrate into it were driven back with stones and arrows, wood was piled up at the two extremities and set alight, and the fire was kept burning till all had perished, stifled by the smoke or the heat.¹

In the same year an adventure happened, which the Paduan Livy tells with great satisfaction. Cleonymus, the grandson of a Spartan king, had come with a fleet to seek his fortune in the Adriatic. He seized vessels and pillaged the coasts. Finding those of the Sallentine country well guarded by the Roman legions, he pushed on as far as the head of the gulf, and penetrated by the lagoons of the Brenta to the Venetians, whose territory he ravaged. The protection of Rome did not yet extend so far, but the Paduans accustomed, from the proximity of the Gauls, to the use of arms, fell on these marauders, killing some, and pursuing others to their ships, several of which were taken. Very proud of this success gained over the Lacedæmonians, Padua deposited the armed prows of their vessels in her temple of Juno, and instituted a feast, still celebrated in the time of Augustus, at which a naval combat on the Brenta recalled the victory over the pirates of Cleonymus.

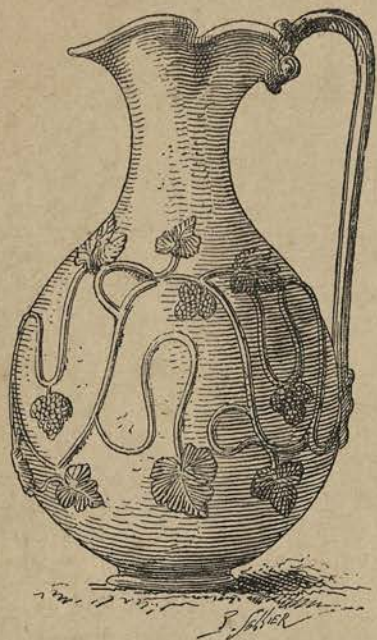
II.—SECOND COALITION OF SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS, UMBRIANS

AND GAULS (300-290).

In the last forty years the Samnites had been often beaten. Nothing however, had yet been decided, and the recently concluded peace was only a momentary repose before the final struggle. Betwixt Rome and Samnium it was no longer a rivalry of power, but a question of life or death; for Roman ambition increased with success, and Appius had just declared that the sway of the republic should reach as far as Italy reached. War was smouldering everywhere, and the partial fires which broke out, the war with the Æquians, the Marsi, and soon against Arretium and Narnia, announced a fresh conflagration. At Arretium the

¹ Livy, x. 1.

powerful family of the Cilnii called in a Roman army, which helped to subdue the people of that town. The Cilnii and the



Earthenware of Arretium (Arezzo).²

people became reconciled, says Livy; but most probably this union, effected by the foreigner, took place to the profit of Rome; and here, as at Capua, as indeed everywhere, the Italian aristocracy sold the independence of the people to the senate in order to save its own privileges and power.¹ At least it is impossible to explain the strange conduct of the Etruscans in this last period of the Samnite war, except by internal troubles, by a deplorable rivalry between the Roman and the national parties, one desirous of peace, the other war, whence came endless broken truces and ill-conducted campaigns.

The Gauls then began to make a stir in the world again. The fighting hordes moved in the valley of the Danube, whence they soon issued to ravage Greece and Asia Minor. Italy felt the reaction of these movements; a few bands again crossed the Alps, and the senate, uneasy about the disposition of the Senones, made preparations for protecting themselves from a sudden invasion. In 300 B.C. we find the consuls besieging the Umbrian town of *Nequinum* (Narnia). Built on a rock above the Nar, this place commanded the passage from Umbria into the valley of the Tiber; it was one of the most important military positions in the neighbourhood of Rome. The senate there established a strong garrison. With Carseoli and Alba Fuentia, which had been colonised a little earlier, this place completed the line of defence which surrounded the capital of Latium.³

¹ Livy (xlii. 30) says later on about another people and another nobility: . . . *plebs omnis, ut solet, deterioris erat . . . principum diversa studia . . . plures ex iis ita, si præcipuum operam parassent, potentes sese in civitatibus suis futuros rati . . .*

² Vase of red earthenware in relief, from the Campana Museum.

³ Sutrium, Narnia, Carseoli, Alba Fuentia, and the colonies of the Liris valley, Sora, Atina, Casinum, Interamna, etc.

FOR THE WARS
AGAINST THE ETRUSCANS
THE UMBRIANS THE SENONES
THE CISALPINE GAULS
AND
HANNIBAL.

HANNIBAL.

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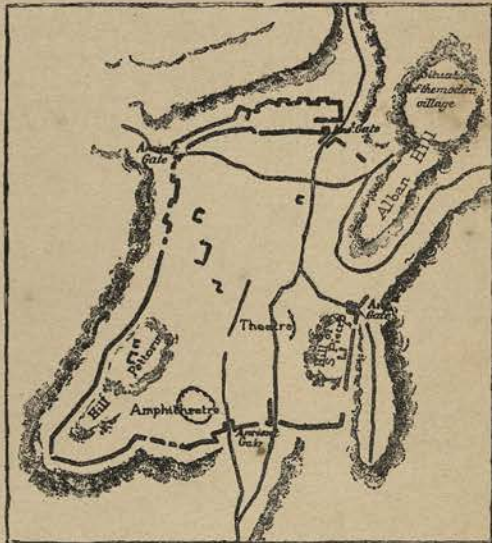
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Lithographed by W. L.

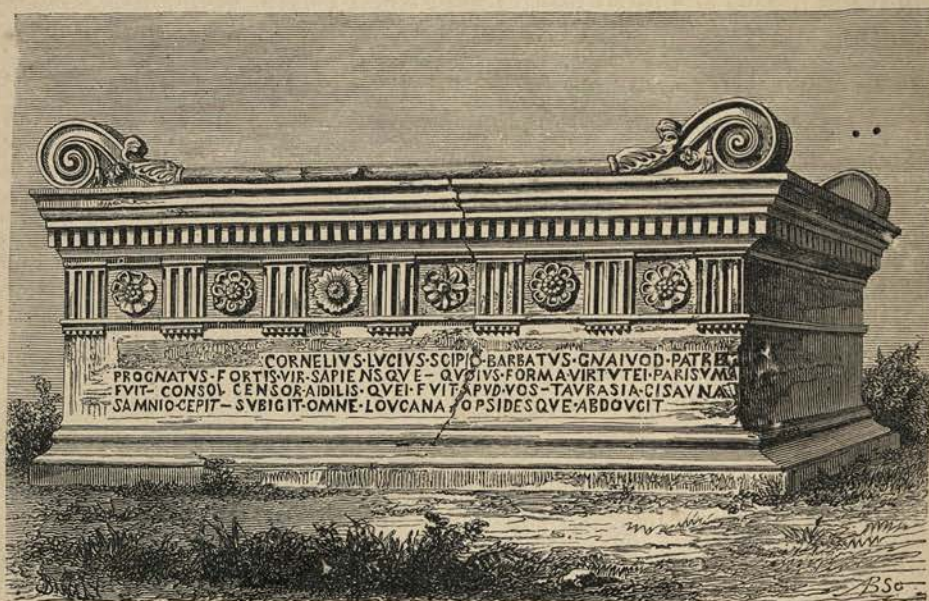
At Narnia, some Samnites had been found among the defenders of the place; their chiefs were preparing a general rising, and sought allies everywhere. The Lucanians had promised them assistance, but at the moment of action the Roman party gained the upper hand, and caused hostages to be given. The Picentines, though earnestly solicited, also informed the senate of the message calling them to arms; and the Marsic confederation, true to its old jealousy of the Samnites, once more betrayed the common cause. But other allies were found. The Sabines, who had been at peace with the Romans for a century and a half, would not abandon a sister people in its last hour. The Etruscans were quite decided. Some years previously they had paid the Gauls to march upon Rome. When the barbarians held the money: "That is only your ransom," they said; "to aid you against the Romans you must give us lands." The Umbrians had thrown in their fortune with the Etruscans. Thus, war was ready to break out from the Cisalpine to Bruttium. To this ill-cemented coalition Rome opposed all the strength of the Latin and Campanian nations from the Ciminian Forest to the Silarus; and what was worth more than an army, unity of counsel and control.

Alba Fucentina.¹

The war commenced at both extremities at once, in Etruria and in Lucania. Valerius Corvus, then consul for the sixth time, was entrusted with the Etruscan war. The enemy frightened by the very name of such an adversary allowed its country to be

¹ Alba Fucentina was three miles from Lake Fucinus, at the foot of Monte Velino, but upon the summit of a hill. This made it a very strong position; and Rome sent thither, in 302, six thousand colonists (Liv. x. 1), and in later times used it as the State prison. Syphax, Perseus and Bitautus were incarcerated there. A part of the walls still remains; they have a circuit of about three miles, and in the interior are seen the village of Alba, of a hundred and fifty inhabitants, and some ruins, those of the amphitheatre and a theatre. The plan conveys an idea of what the ancient cities of central Italy were like. See Promis, *Antichità di Alba Fucense*.

devastated without risking a battle (299). The Samnites had sent an army into Lucania, to aid their party. Rome summoned them to recall it; they would not listen even to the *fetiales*. The consul Fabius immediately marched upon Bovianum (298), beat the enemy, whom he several times deceived by his strategy, and took the town; while his colleague, Scipio Barbatus, gained a victory over the Etruscans (?) near Volaterræ. These successes were no doubt less than they are represented,¹ or else the people were desirous of striking a decisive blow early in the campaign, for in the following year they obliged Fabius Rullianus, who had



Tomb of Scipio Barbatus.

just quitted his ædileship after having exercised his celebrated censorship, to accept the consulship. Fabius only consented on condition of having P. Decius for his colleague. In spite of all attempts the Etruscans, who did not wish to engage seriously

¹ We have the inscription from the tomb of this consul. It is the most ancient monument of the Latin language with a settled date that we possess. [The ablative *Gnqivod* ending in *d* is peculiarly interesting.—*Ed.*]:—

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus
Gnqivod patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque
Quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit,
Consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud vos
Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit
Subigit omne Loucana opsidesque abdoucit. •

before the arrival of the Gauls, held themselves on the defensive, and the two consuls were able to march towards Samnium. Having each gained a victory, one at Tifernum, the other at Maleventum, they remained five months in that province, methodically devastating the country, halting their legions in the richest valleys, and leaving them only when they had destroyed everything. In this manner Decius made forty-five encampments in Samnium, and Fabius eighty-six, which were long afterwards to be recognised by the ruin and solitude surrounding them.

This systematic devastation, continued by Fabius in the following year, inspired the Samnites with a desperate resolve. Quitting their country, which they could no longer defend, they threw themselves into Etruria under the leadership of Gellius Ignatius, raised to rebellion the towns which still hesitated, persuading the Umbrians to join them, and called in the Gauls.¹

There was great terror in Rome, which unlucky omens served to increase. It was said that the statue of Victory had descended from its pedestal and had turned towards the Colline gate, by which the Gauls had entered a century earlier. Did the goddess wish to flee from Rome, or to show her favourite people where the danger or the triumph lay? But this people, whose superstition was boundless, never lost courage, even when they doubted the assistance of their gods. At Rome the *justitium* was proclaimed—that is, the tribunals were closed, business was suspended. All available men were enrolled, even to the freedmen, and Volumnius was recalled from Samnium to help his colleague Appius, who extricated himself by a sanguinary engagement. But Campania was left defenceless, and the Samnites

That is:—

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus
Son of Cneus; valiant and wise.
His beauty equalled his valour.
He was consul, censor, ædile,
Took Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium,
Subdued all Lucania and brought back hostages.

The omission of the victory over the Etruscans, related by Livy, proves that that historian here again attributed to the Romans a success which they never gained. We are drawing near the time of historic certainty, however, for this Scipio was the grandfather of the conqueror of Hannibal.

¹ Livy, ix. 21. Thus the people of la Vendée crossed the Loire to stir up Brittany, Maine and Normandy.

fell upon it. Volumnius hastened back into his province, beat the enemy there, and delivered seven thousand four hundred prisoners. This victory diminished the terrors of the city, and was celebrated with public prayers.

Appius, however, was left in a dangerous position: in front of him the Samnite Egnatius, by his activity and hatred, animated the coalition of all the nations of the north of the peninsula, hushing rivalry, preaching union, and guiding the terrible Senones into the defiles of the Apennines. The year 295 B.C. was critical; accordingly all votes raised Fabius and Decius to the consulship. Ninety thousand men at least, divided into five armies, were set afoot. One of these armies invaded Samnium, whilst, under the name of colonies, two garrisons occupied Minturnæ and Sinuessa; another, encamped at the foot of the Janiculum, covered the city; the third, established near Falerii, protected the approaches to it; the fourth, commanded by Scipio Barbatus, took up a position in the territory of the Camertini, whence it watched the movements of the Gauls; and finally, the fifth, formed of the consular legions, kept the field.

When Fabius came to take the command, Appius was keeping this last army shut up in a camp, the defences of which he daily strengthened. The new general scorned these precautions, which frightened the soldiers, tore down the palisades, and took the offensive again. Meanwhile the Gauls attacked a legion posted by Scipio near Camerinum, killed them to the last man, and, having forced the passage of the Apennines, spread over the plain, carrying at their saddles and on their pikes the bleeding heads of the legionaries. If the conquerors should effect a junction with the Umbrians and Etruscans it was clearly all over with the consular army; but Fabius by a diversion recalled the Etruscans to the defence of their homes, and then hastened in search of the Gallo-Samnite army in the plains of Sentinum. The shock was terrible; the war-chariots of the barbarians put the Roman cavalry to flight, and broke the first line of the legions. Seven thousand Romans on the left wing, commanded by Decius, had already perished, when the consul, following his father's example, devoted himself for the legions. "Before me," he cried, after having pronounced the sacred formulæ, "may terror and

flight, blood and death, the rage of the gods of heaven and hell dash onwards! May the breath of destruction annihilate the hostile arms and standards!" and he hurled himself into the thickest of the fray. The sacrifice of the first Decius had troubled the Latin legions, but the Gauls were inaccessible to these religious terrors, and this fall of the consul served only to animate their courage. The whole left wing would have been crushed had not Fabius, who had overcome the Samnites, hastened up. Surrounded on all sides, the barbarians retired without disorder, and, abandoning a cause in which they were only auxiliaries, they regained their own country. Twenty-five thousand Gallic and Samnite corpses covered the field of battle; eight thousand prisoners remained in the hands of the Romans; Egnatius had perished; only five thousand Samnites went back to their mountains. Fabius again beat an army that had issued from Perugia,¹ and then went to Rome to enjoy his triumph. Behind his car the soldiers sang the praises of Decius: this was the justice of the people (295 B.C.).

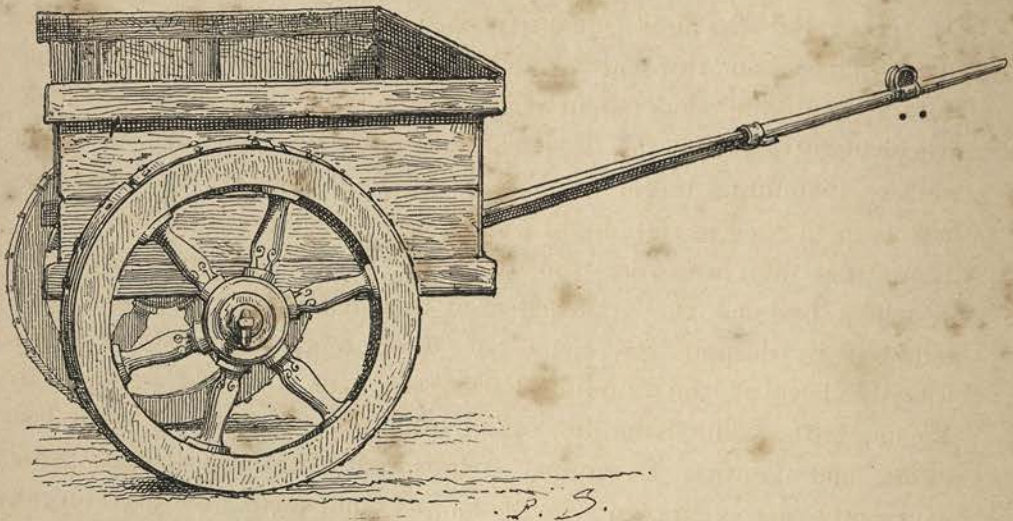
The coalition was dissolved. It remained to crush successively those who had taken part in it, whose names the senate never forgot. But the Samnites, in spite of so many defeats, were yet formidable.² Like a lion stricken to death, this indomitable nation did not perish without inflicting cruel wounds. In the following year they beat a consul. In another encounter Atilius Regulus found himself so near a defeat that he vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, and as the winter approached the Romans dared not remain in Samnium. A diversion of the Etruscans remained without any successful results. The colleague of Atilius had forced a truce of forty years upon them.

The war was now about to concentrate in the Apennines. The son of Papirius was sent thither with Sp. Carvilius. As they had done fifteen years before, so now the Samnite chiefs called religion to the aid of patriotism and union. The aged Ovidius Pacius assembled forty thousand warriors near Aquilonia. In the centre of the camp was a tent of linen cloth; in the middle of the tent an altar; around the altar stood soldiers with naked swords.

¹ He slew of the Perugians, says Livy (x. 31), four thousand five hundred men, and captured one thousand seven hundred and forty, who paid each for his ransom 510 aces.

² *Dura illa pectora.* (L., *ibid.*)

After mysterious sacrifices the bravest were led thither, one by one, like so many victims,¹ and each warrior repeating the dread imprecations of Pacius, devoted himself, his family and all his race to the anger of the gods, if he revealed these mysteries or refused to follow his chiefs everywhere, if he fled from the fight, or did not himself slay those who fled. Some refused, and were put to death. On their bodies, placed with those of the victims, the others swore. Then from among these the generals appointed ten, who in turn chose ten warriors, and so on up to sixteen thousand. This was the *Linen* legion, the soldiers of which, clad



Gallic Chariot (Museum of Saint-Germain).

in flashing armour, were all the bravest and noblest warriors of Samnium. They kept their word. Thirty thousand Samnites remained on the battle-field of Aquilonia, where Papirius had displayed his father's talents.

A defection of the Faliscans called Carvilius into Etruria. A few days sufficed to drive back the Etruscans, ever the enemies of Rome, and ever fearful of a decisive combat. The Faliscans gave a year's pay to the army, and paid a fine of 100,000 pounds weight of copper (293 B.C.).

At his triumph Papirius displayed 2,033,000 pounds weight of copper, resulting from the sale of the prisoners, and 1,330

¹ *Nobilissimum quemque genere factisque . . . magis ut victima*, etc. (Livy, x. 38.)

pounds weight of silver, taken from the towns and temples. Carvilius, on his side, placed 380,000 pounds of bronze in the treasury, distributed 200 ases to every soldier, and twice as much to the centurions and knights.¹ With the rest of his booty he built, on the left bank of the Tiber, the temple of *Fors Fortuna, Lucky Chance*, a strange deity for a people who left so little to chance. The arms taken on the field of battle were distributed to the colonies and allies as trophies; and of the part which fell to himself he had a colossal statue of Jupiter made, which he placed on the top of the Capitoline Hill, whence it commanded the city and the whole Roman Campagna.²

From this immense quantity of booty for a single campaign, the slaughter on the battle-field, and the sale of slaves after the victory, we can understand the depopulation and misery which everywhere followed the legions. After half a century of such warfare, Samnium might well be exhausted, and of the men who had seen it begin, no doubt there were but very few left alive. There was one however, who from the depths of the retirement, in which perhaps the reproaches of his fellow citizens held him, followed in despair the course of these repeated disasters. This was the hero of the Caudine Forks, the man who had believed in Roman faith. The Samnites called him to their head for their last effort, and Pontius Herennius reappeared victorious after a lapse of twenty-nine years, in the plains of Campania. Fabius Gurgus, the son of the great Fabius, dared to attack him, and was beaten; but his father obtained leave from the senate to go and serve under him as lieutenant. The conqueror of Perugia and Sentinum struck the last blow of this war. Twenty thousand Samnites perished, and their leader was taken. Fabius Gurgus triumphed; his father followed him on horseback, and behind them marched Pontius in chains. When the triumphant general left the Sacred Way to ascend to the Capitol, the victors dragged Pontius to the

¹ Livy's figures have been accused of exaggeration by those who maintain that the mountaineers of Samnium were poor. That is true; but they forget that for centuries they had pillaged Campania, Apulia, and Magna-Grecia, that ancient nations loved to treasure up valuables, and that warrior tribes delight in displaying their wealth in their arms.

² Here ends Livy's first decade; we do not meet him again till 220 B.C. This statue was to be seen, says Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 18), from the Alban Mount.

prison of Ancus.¹ They went their way, one to render thanks to the gods, the other to yield his head to the executioner.

Two centuries later the Roman who knew most of justice, who had the tenderest soul, still spoke of punishments due to the vanquished.² Ancient warfare was certainly a merciless duel.

For one year more the legions pursued the remnants of the Samnite armies, till Curius at length extorted from this nation the acknowledgment of their defeat. A treaty, the clauses of which we do not know, classed them among the allies of Rome (290 B.C.). To keep them in restraint Venusia, between Samnium and Tarentum, was occupied by a numerous colony.

We know just as little of the operations of Curius in the Sabine country. It is only mentioned that the Sabines paid for the aid they had so tardily afforded the Samnites with a considerable portion of their lands. On his return, after having penetrated as far as the Adriatic, Curius uttered these words, which show how Rome conducted a war: "I have conquered so many countries that those regions would be but a vast solitude had I less prisoners to people them with. I have subdued so many men that we should not know how to feed them had I not conquered so many lands." Accordingly he distributed seven acres to every citizen. For himself he would accept no other recompense. The Sabines had the rights of citizenship without the suffrage; but Reate, Nursia, and perhaps Amiternum, remained simple præfectures.³ Castrum and Hadria, in the Adriatic, were colonised. Curius triumphed twice in the same year. This honour, hitherto unprecedented, and the respect which attached to his name, proclaim great services. The true Samnite war was over.

For other reasons Curius well deserved to triumph twice, for he had conquered nature as well as the Samnites. He turned the Velinus aside into the Nera, and created the magnificent cascade

¹ The Tullianum. See in Sallust (*Cat.*, 55) the description of the place where executions took place.

² Cic., in *Verrem*, II. v. 30. *Supplicia quæ debentur hostibus victis.*

³ Fest., s. v. *Præfectura*, Aur. Vict., viii. 33: Vell., Patere., i. 14. The long peace which the Sabine country had enjoyed had increased the wealth of its inhabitants. It was after the conquests of Curius, says Strabo, that the Romans became opulent.

of Terni. Victors and vanquished have been dust these twenty-three centuries, but the marvellous spectacle that this Roman created for himself lasts for ever.

Could this Samnite war, which caused such ruin, have been avoided? There is something of the bird of prey and the wild beast even in many civilized men; naturally these instincts of rapine and carnage were more strongly developed in times when humanity was nearer its origin. The men of the plains and those of the mountains, the husbandmen and the shepherds, were necessarily hostile to one another, and in all ages the one race had yielded to the temptation of reaping the lands sown by the other. Rome, who was herself mistress of the Latin plain, and, through Capua, also of the Campanian plain, was anxious to put a stop to this periodical pillaging, and to act as the police of the Apennines. With her usual tenacity she succeeded in so doing. This constituted the whole Samnite war. It had lasted fifty-three years (343-290), and the intervals of peace had only served the two nations for repairing their arms, for a moment's breathing time before they again closed in conflict.

Accordingly we have followed the incidents of this desperate struggle and the slow death pangs of a brave nation with tedium, it is true, but also with admiration¹ and involuntary regrets. Boldness, heroism, love of country—nothing was lacking to the Samnites—nothing but that union which alone makes nations strong. In order to rise to a glorious rank among the nations it is at times needful to sacrifice precious but enervating liberties. In the very camp the Samnites did not forget the wild independence of their mountains. At Aquilonia, in order to secure their obedience for the last time, their chiefs had been obliged to call the most dreadful mysteries of religion to the aid of their authority. Therefore Samnium perished, and deserved to perish, for had she been victorious she would never have drawn Italy and the world from the chaos out of which Rome drew them.

¹ *Quānam sit ille, quem pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quæ gerentes non fatigaverunt?* (Livy, x. 31.)

III.—COALITION OF THE ETRUSCANS AND SENONES ; WAR AGAINST THE LUCANIANS (283-281).

Latium, Campania, Apulia, and Samnium submitted to the rule or the alliance of Rome. But on the north a part of the Etruscans were hostile, and the Gauls had quickly forgotten their defeat at Sentinum. On the south, although the Samnite nation had laid down their arms, there remained some bands which, rejecting all peace with Rome, went to seek refuge among the rugged mountains of Calabria. There are to be found immense forests, where by degrees a new nation was formed, the Bruttii, whom the Greeks and Romans disdainfully called revolted slaves. Greeks and Lucanians saw with dread the Roman rule drawing nearer to them—Tarentum especially, which showed a growing jealousy of the successes of the barbarous city on the banks of the Tiber. But how were so many tribes to be united for common action? Pyrrhus and Hannibal himself could not effect it. Rome alone worked this miracle, because she applied to the work two great forces—wisdom and time.

There was only an instant of serious danger. Arretium, thanks to the Cilmii, had remained faithful to the alliance of Rome; some Etruscans, supported by an army of Senones, came and besieged it. The legions hastened to the succour of the place, but their leader, seven tribunes, and thirteen thousand soldiers fell on the field of battle;¹ the rest were taken prisoners (283). This was one of the most bloody defeats that the Romans had ever suffered; it served to increase the alarm that the simple announcement of a Gallic war caused among them. When the senate caused complaints to be brought before the council of the Senones, their chief, Britomar, whose father had been slain in the battle of Arretium, replied by killing the deputies as expiatory victims, whom he offered to the paternal manes. Indignation

¹ Polybius, ii. 19. Orosius, iii. 22.



Cascades of Terni.

doubled the strength of Rome, and two powerful armies were raised. With one of them one of the consuls restrained or overcame the Etruscans; with the other Dolabella, quietly crossing the Sabine country, entered the territory of the Senones by Picenum, burnt their villages, slew the men, sold the women and children, and only quitted the country when he had made it a desert. He had borne thither the vengeance of Rome, which, when the sons of the conquerors of the Allia were exterminated, no longer blushed for the ransom carried off from the Capitol. In order to prevent the Cisalpine Gauls from replacing the Senones in this solitude, the senate sent colonists to guard the country, settling them at Sena, on the north of Ancona, at Castrum, and at Hadria in Picenum. As the sway of the Romans had crossed the Apennines on the south by the occupation of Venusia, so it crossed them on the north by settlements on the Adriatic, whence she could watch over the valley of the Po.

The Boii, whose territory extended from Parma to Bologna, grew alarmed at this extermination of a Gallic tribe. With those of the Senones who had escaped the Roman sword they entered the valley of the Arno by the defiles which led from the Romagna to Florence, and passed through the whole of Etruria, summoning all those who were still enemies to Rome. But not far from Narnia, near a swampy marsh called lake Vadimon, they were stopped by a defeat with fearful slaughter. Streams of blood ran as far as the Tiber and reddened its waters.

In the following year the Boii made peace (282 B.C.). For two years longer the senate was obliged to send armies into Etruria. The victory of Coruncanus over the Vulcientes put an end to this war, which had begun almost with the beginning of Rome. From the year 280 the name of Etruscans no longer appears in the triumphal records.

Since the day when Fabius passed the Ciminian forest, the Tuscan augurs could predict to their nation that the end of its life was drawing near, and that the tenth century—in which, according to ancient prophecies, its nationality was to perish—had arrived. Resignation was easy to them. Their gods had spoken, and the

Romans had fulfilled the oracle. Why should they resist destiny, especially when Rome demanded so little, when life was so sweet and nature so fruitful in that land of plenty, where nothing was lacking for pleasure and luxury. One of the ancients said of the Etruscans: "Renouncing the virtues of which their ancestors were so jealous, the Tuscans pass their lives in feasting or in wanton pleasures; they have thus lost the glorious renown of their fathers."¹ We may write here, then, *Finis Etruriæ*.



Etruscan Funeral Urn.
(Museum of the Louvre, Campana collection.)

During these operations in the North, hostilities had been actively carried on in the South. The Greek town of Thurium (Thurii) had implored the aid of Rome against the Lucanians, who ravaged their lands every summer. A first expedition against these pillagers effected nothing, but in 282 Fabricius opened his way as far as Thurium, the blockade of which he raised, and left troops there. Locri, Crotona, and perhaps Rhegium also received Roman garrisons. On his return, Fabricius put 400 talents into the treasury: with the remainder of the booty he paid large gratuities to the soldiers, and restored to the citizens what they had paid for the military tax that year. Such productive campaigns made men love war; the am-

bition of the great and the greed of the poor found it to their advantage.

Peace was apparently restored in the peninsula, and from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina all except Tarentum acknowledged the majesty of the Roman people, or submitted to alliance with it; but the powerful city on the banks of the Taras, proud of its Spartan origin, its riches, and the numerous vessels that

¹ *Diod.*, v. 40. Theopompus and Timæus said much more... *famulas nudas ministrare viris*... *communes mulieres*, etc., *Athen.*, *Deipnosoph.*, xii. 14, and iv. 38.

crowded its harbour—the *mare Piccolo*, was about to instigate a war more dangerous to Rome than had been any of the struggles which she had sustained in the last sixty years.



This votive shield seems to represent the famous legend of the gold of the Capitol weighed by the Gauls; below, Camillus and Brennus; above, the town and its monuments; in the centre, a grotesque figure with ram's horns, a twisted beard, and great leaves. The workmanship is referred to the first century of our era. (Dodwell, *de Parma Woodwardiana*.)

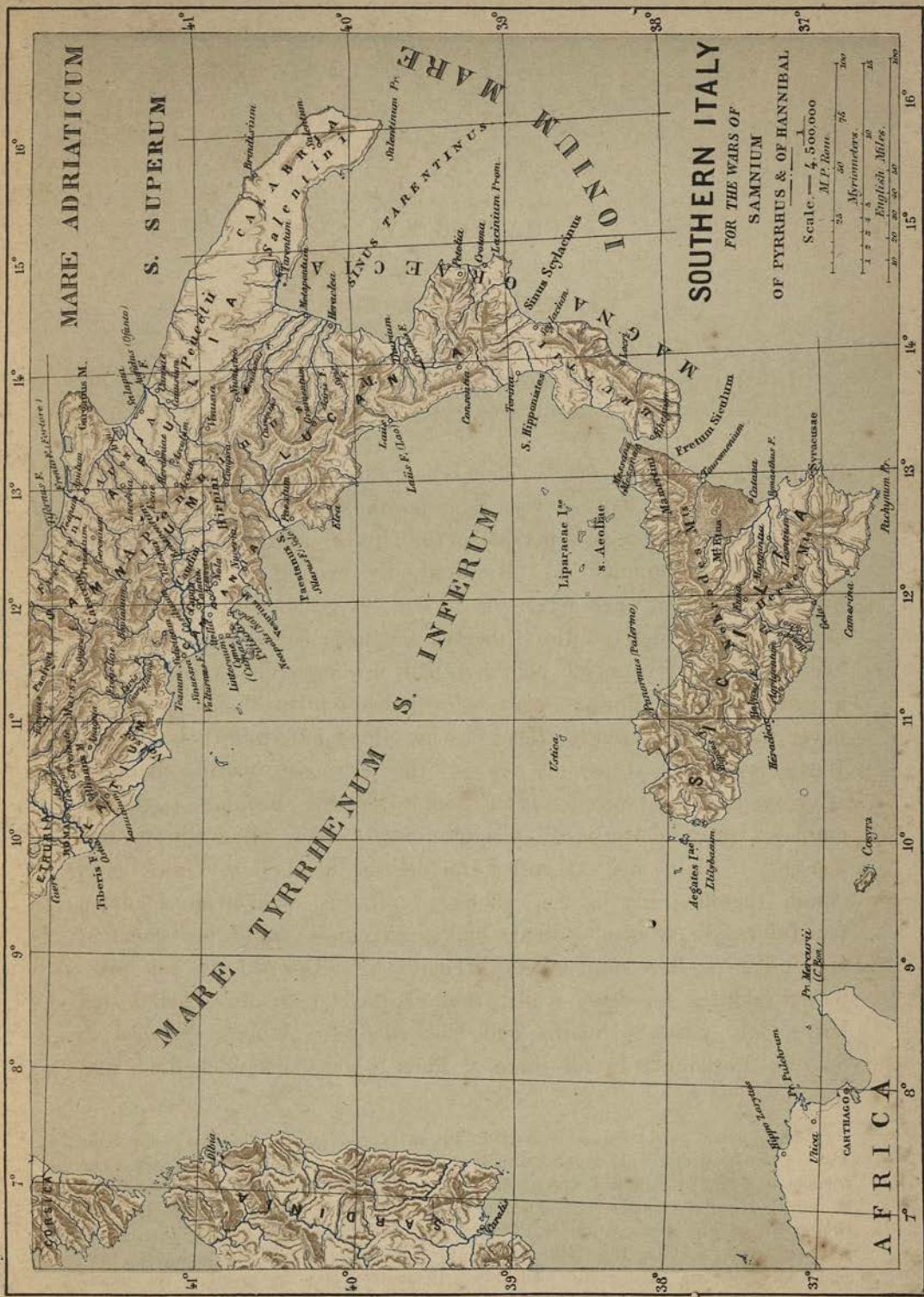
CHAPTER XVI.

WAR WITH PYRRHUS (280-272).

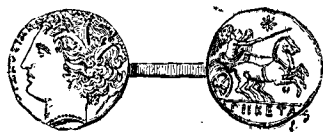
I.—RUPTURE WITH TARENTUM; FIRST CAMPAIGN OF PYRRHUS IN ITALY (282-278).

WE have reached the moment when Rome and Greece are about to clash. Greece was then moribund, and her end marked the completion of a new period in the life of humanity. By allowing individual genius its full flight, by leaving it untrammelled by the bonds of priestcraft or of an overshadowing aristocracy, Greece had created political liberty, art, and science; but from an excess of liberty social anarchy had arisen. The Greeks were a great people; Europe owes her civilization to them; but they never were a great State. That is why others inherited their labours. Rome represents a second age of the European world—manhood after youth, the people of action after the people of theory, ambition after enthusiasm, discipline and order after liberty and anarchy. Plato and Aristotle,¹ tracing the ideal of a Greek city, admit therein only a few thousand citizens, and even condemn fruitfulness in women. Rome makes citizens even of her enemies, and prepares her subjects to become so. Accordingly her prosperity endures for ages, whilst that of the Greek cities had lasted but a few years. Sparta had succeeded to Athens, Thebes to Sparta, Macedonia to all three. Then when Alexander died, and

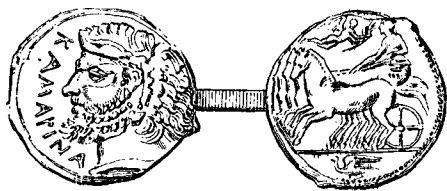
¹ Plato would have no more than 5,040 citizens (*Laws*, v.). Children born of parents who are blemished or too old, says he, natural children or deformed, should be exposed. The republic must not be burdened with them (*Rep.*, v.). Aristotle demands that the number of marriages and the number of children to be raised in each household should be fixed. If the law of the country forbids the exposure of children, says he, let abortion be practised (*Polit.*, vii. 14, 10). He would have the number of citizens such that they might all know one another (*ibid.*, vii. 14). In another place he mentions the means employed by the Cretans to stop the increase of population. (*Pol.*, ii. 7, 4.)



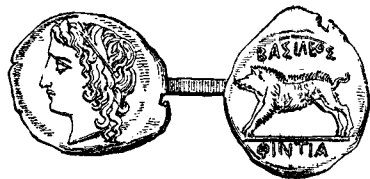
his vast designs with him, a huge disorder had shaken his empire, from the Indus to the Adriatic; confusion devoid of greatness, chaos whence life could never spring! Morality was debased, nationalities were forgotten; every man's hand was against his neighbour's for a little gold or power; war became a trade, as in Italy and in Germany, at the most disastrous periods of their history; and a few mercenary soldiers bestowed or took away crowns.

Coin of Hicetas.¹

This general decay of the Greek race had reached Sicily and Magna Græcia. In Sicily the brilliant rule of Agathocles had just closed, and everywhere petty tyrants arose;² Hicetas at Syracuse, Phintias at Agrigentum, Tyndarion at Tauromenium, Heraclides at Leontini, etc. On the west, Carthage was strengthening herself; on the north, the mercenaries of Agathocles took possession of Messina by treason, massacred the male inhabitants, and thence extended their raids over the whole island as far as Gela and Camarina, which they pillaged.⁴ On the north of the straits Rhegium, so hardly treated by Dionysius the Elder; Locri, ruined by his son; Metapontum, almost destroyed by Cleonymus and

Coin of Camarina.³

Agathocles; Thurium, which had replaced Sybaris without succeeding to its power; Croton, thrice taken by Agathocles and Dionysius; all these, surrounded by Lucanians and Bruttians,

Coin of Phintias.⁵

¹ Head of Ceres, crowned with ears of wheat; behind, the torch lighted by Demeter in her search for her daughter Proserpina; the legend, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; coin of the Syracusans. On the reverse, a Victory in a chariot, drawn by two horses galloping; above, a star and the words ΕΠΙΚΕΤΑ; under the reign of Hicetas. Gold coin.

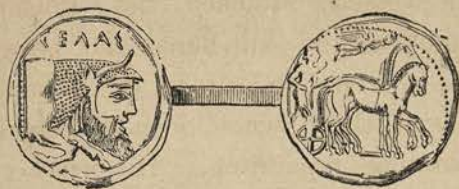
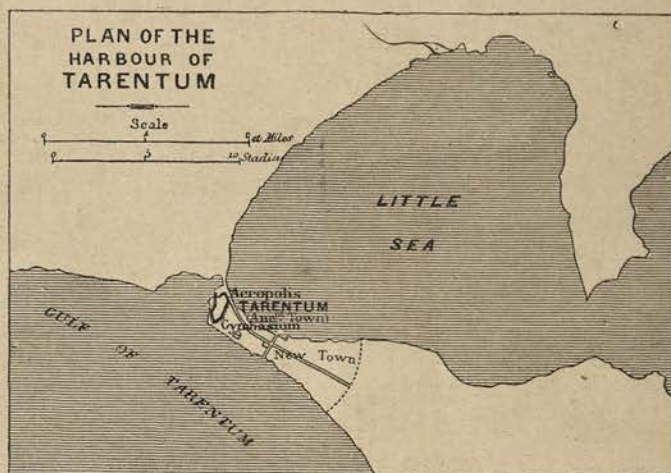
² Diod., Fragm. xxii. *Excerpt. Hæschel.*, p. 495.

³ ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑ (*iωv*), coin of Camarina; head of Hercules with the lion's skin. On the reverse, figure on a *quadriga* crowned by Victory, probably in commemoration of a prize won in the chariot race at Olympia.

⁴ Diod., Fragm. xxi. *Excerpt. Hæschel.*, p. 493.

⁵ Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ, Phintias being king, and a wild boar. Bronze coin.

lived a miserable life amidst continual alarms. Tarentum was an exception;¹ but these Dorians, who had become the richest merchants of Italy, had fallen into a dissoluteness of manners which made them incapable of sustaining a serious struggle. Yet they had the haughtiness which wealth brings, and were angry at hearing all Italy resound with the name of these barbarians

Gela.²

Harbour of Tarentum.

on the banks of the Tiber, who were as incapable of executing a work of art as of arranging a festival.

The senate had added to the Roman garrison of Thurium a squadron of ten galleys to cruise in the gulf. One day, as the people of Tarentum were assembled in the theatre facing the sea, the Roman vessels appeared at the entrance of the port. A demagogue, named Philocharis, cried out that, according to ancient

¹ Tarentum was the only port on this coast; Croton had only a summer roadstead (Polyb., x. *Fragm.*, i.). The principal industry of Tarentum was the manufacture and dyeing of woollen stuffs. Hence its relations with the Samnites, of whom it bought the wool. The latter took in exchange salt, fish, and manufactured objects. Cf. Strabo, v. p. 259.

² ΓΕΛΑΣ. Gela was the name of the torrent which ran at the foot of the walls of the town, now the *Fiume di Terranova*. The god of this torrent was represented under the form of an ox with a man's head. Thus our silver tetradrachm of the town of Gela shows it. On the reverse, a chariot, or *biga*, and a figure crowned by a Victory, a token of a prize gained in the Olympic games.

treaties, the Romans had not the right to pass the Lacinian Cape. The Tarentines hastened to their vessels, attacked the Roman galleys, sank four of them, took another and butchered the crew, and, emboldened by this easy success, went and drove the Roman garrison out of Thurium and pillaged the town. Soon a Roman ambassador presented himself demanding reparation. He was received with hooting and low insults: one buffoon dared to cover



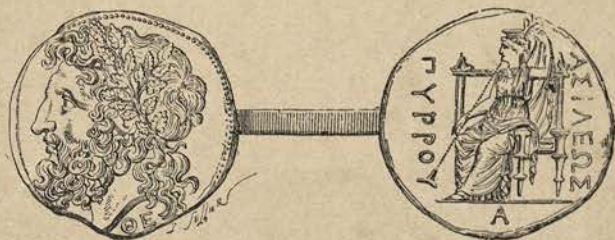
The Lacinian Cape.¹

the ambassador's toga with filth. "Laugh," said Postumius, "laugh now; your blood will wash out these stains" (282 B.C.).

The senate, however, entered upon this fresh war with repugnance. The Etruscans still resisted the legions. Armed bands overran Samnium, and the Lucanians must be punished for their repeated attacks upon Thurium. Moreover, it was evident that the Tarentines would seek auxiliaries in Greece, as they had

¹ This solitary pillar still marks the site of the famous temple of Hera Lacinia, built on the point of the Cape. (From a photograph taken in 1882.)

already done thrice, when they had called in Archidamas, King of Sparta, Alexander of Molossus, and the Lacedæmonian Cleonymus. The discussion lasted several days in the senate. The



Coin of Pyrrhus.¹

war party at last prevailed, and the consul Æmilius marched through Samnium against Tarentum. Before attacking it he once more offered peace. The nobles ac-

cepted it, but the popular party, who were the true masters of the State, rejected all proposals, and invited Pyrrhus to make a descent upon Italy (281).

Pyrrhus, nephew of Olympias, and son of Æacides, king of Epirus, was perhaps the ablest of all those who claimed to be the heirs of Alexander. Tried, however, by the most diverse fortunes, having already twice lost and regained his kingdom, and conquered and abandoned Macedonia, he had acquired a restless ambition which all his life long impelled him from one enterprise to another. At Ipsus (301) he had fought for Antigonus against Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander. As Asia fell to these, he dreamed of the conquest of Rome, Sicily, and Carthage. He desired to be the Alexander of the west. Method was wanting in all his designs; accordingly he lived and died less like a king than an adventurer. In other respects, brilliant in mind and courage, like his cousin Alexander; like him, too, beloved by his people, even to the most entire devotion; a spoilt child of fortune, which so often smiled on him and so often deserted him; upright of heart, open to all noble feelings, history at once loves and condemns him. When he saw Fabricius he desired to have him for a friend; when he knew the Romans he was eager to have them as allies; and he never blushed at having been conquered by them.

The Tarentines spared neither presents nor promises. He was to find in Italy 350,000 foot soldiers and 20,000 cavalry. In spite of the warnings of his friend, the Thessalian Cineas, Pyrrhus

¹ Head of Jupiter crowned with oak. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ, Pyrrhus being king.

accepted, and immediately sent off Milo with three thousand men to occupy the citadel of Tarentum. During the winter he prepared a considerable armament—20,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 2,000 archers, 500 slingers, and 20 elephants. In crossing, a tempest dispersed the fleet and almost dashed the royal vessel on the coast of the Messapians.

When Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, he closed the baths and theatres, obliged the citizens to take arms, and exercised them pitilessly, like mercenaries. The town of pleasure had become a place of war. Many Tarentines fled (280 B.C.).

At Rome they would not enter on the campaign without having solemnly declared war against Pyrrhus; but Epirus was far away, and time pressed. They escaped from the difficulty, as at Candium, by a subterfuge. An Epirote deserter bought a field, and on this field the fetiales solemnly carried out the religious ceremonies. The letter of the law was fulfilled. The gods ought to consider themselves satisfied. The public conscience asked no more. Happily, the preparations for war were more serious. The consuls enrolled, as in all times of extreme danger, all the capable men, even of the poorest. The freedom of Rome, recently granted to several tribes, the colonies spread over Campania, Samnium and Apulia, especially that of Venusia, which was so numerous, and the garrisons in the advanced posts of Locri and



Pyrrhus.¹

¹ Statue in the Capitoline Museum.

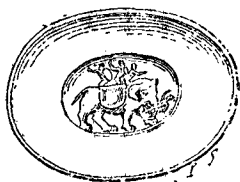
Rhegium, secured the fidelity of the allies. Moreover, to keep them from the sight of hostile standards, Lævinus marched to meet the king as far as the banks of the Siris. In vain did



Coin of the Lucanian Heraclea.¹

Pyrrhus strive to negotiate, condescending to act the part of mediator; the Romans repelled every offer; they neither would nor could allow a stranger to interfere in the affairs of Italy. The first battle was fought near Heraclea,

half way between Thurium and Tarentum. The elephants, which were new to the Romans, threw their ranks into disorder. They left fifteen thousand men on the field of battle. But Pyrrhus had lost thirteen thousand.² "Another such victory," said the



Fighting Elephant making a Prisoner.³

latter, "and I return without an army to Epirus." He himself was nearly slain by the Frentanian Vulsinus; and one of his officers, whom he had dressed in his arms and royal mantle, had fallen covered with wounds.

This hard-earned victory, the very dangers he had run, and what he had learnt about Rome, inspired the Greek king with an earnest regard for these barbarians, whose tactics were so excellent. He had reckoned, when crossing the Adriatic, on an easy war, and he met with the most redoubtable adversaries; on numerous auxiliaries, and the Italians had left him to fight alone at Heraclea. After this battle, Locri had opened its gates to him; the Campanian legion, in garrison at Rhegium, massacred the inhabitants of that city and took their place, as the Mamertines had done at Messina. Some Lucanians and Samnites came to his camp; but this was very far from the three hundred and seventy thousand men who had been promised.

Pyrrhus renewed his first offers; that the Romans should leave free Tarentum and all the Greeks of Italy, and restore to

¹ Helmeted head of Minerva; the reverse, Hercules choking a lion, the hero's club and Minerva's bird, the owl. Silver coin.

² These are the figures, the latter certainly false, given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

³ Gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1911 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Bruttians the cities and lands which they had taken from them. In exchange, he offered his alliance and the ransom of their prisoners. Cineas, whose eloquence, it is said, had gained for Pyrrhus more cities than his arms, was charged with submitting these proposals to Rome. He brought bribes for the senators, and rich robes for their wives. But he found nobody venal. Yet the senate was inclined for peace. The aged Appius, now blind, heard of this with indignation. He had himself led to the senate-house: "I was sorry at not being able to see," said he; "to-day I am sorry that I can hear;" and after having spoken strongly against what he termed a cowardly act, he ended with these words, which became ever afterwards a rule for the guidance of the senate: "Let Pyrrhus leave Italy, and then we shall talk of treating with him."¹ Cineas was ordered to leave Rome the same day. Before his eyes two legions were formed solely of volunteers. The sight of this great city, of its austere manners, of this patriotic zeal, struck the Greek with admiration, brought up as he had been, in the midst of the base intrigues, the venality and decay of his own country. "The senate," said he on his return, "seemed to me an assembly of kings. To fight with the Romans is to fight the Hydra."² Their numbers, like their courage, is unbounded."

Pyrrhus tried a bold move. He left Lucania, avoided Lævinus, who was covering Naples and Capua, threw himself into the valley of the Liris, took Fregellæ, Anagni, Præneste, and pushed his advanced posts to within six leagues of Rome; but nothing stirred around him, not a city revolted, and Lævinus was approaching; Coruncanius, who had just signed a peace with the Etruscans, was bringing from Etruria another consular army, and in the city new legions were being drilled.

Before this threatening circle could close around him, Pyrrhus escaped with his booty, and returned to winter at Tarentum. The legions also went into winter-quarters, except those which had been defeated at Heraclea. As a punishment for their defeat,

¹ Cic., *de Sen.* 6. This speech of Appius was still extant in Cicero's time.

² Plat., *Pyrrh.* 19. See in Horace (*Od.* IV. iv. 57, 61) the beautiful comparison, *Duris ut illex*. . . . *Non hydra secto gorpore firmior*, etc.

they were made to stay in the enemy's territory, living on what they could plunder.

The senate, nevertheless, decided to ransom the prisoners. These were, for the most part, cavalry, whom their horses, being scared by the elephants, had thrown. They belonged, besides, to the best houses in the city. Three commissioners went to treat of their ransom or exchange, Æmilius Papus, Corn. Dolabella, and Fabricius, the hero of the legends, which we are compelled to follow during this period, when Dionysius and Livy fail us, and after which Polybius begins. Pyrrhus refused; but, from esteem for Fabricius, whom he in vain tried to bribe, he allowed his prisoners to go to Rome to keep the Saturnalia. Not one of them failed to return. In the spring of the year 279 he resumed hostilities in Apulia, and besieged Asculum, which, the two consuls, Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius, determined to save by a battle. The report went abroad, it is said, in the two armies that Decius would imitate the example of his father and grandfather. The king gave his troops a description of the costume which the consul would wear, and gave orders to seize him alive and unwounded. At the same time he warned the Roman generals that after the battle he would put the *devoted* to an ignominious death, as a practising witchcraft and waging unfair war.¹

The fragment of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, found lately at Mount Athos, does not say a word of the death of Decius,² but relates the battle in a way which seems to indicate a sort of official dispatch. 'It is indeed probable that Dionysius, who knew the *Commentaries* written by Pyrrhus, had borrowed from them, at least partly, this account of the battle which we give abridged.³ "Heralds had fixed beforehand the time and place of combat. The

¹ Zonaras, viii. 5.

² Valerius Max. (V. iv. 5, 6) speaks only of the Decii, whose death in the Latin war and in the Etruscan we have related. At Asculum Dionysius shows the two consuls acting in concert right to the end of the battle; Cicero does the same in *de Offic.* (iii. 4) and *de Senect.* (20), but in *Tusc. Disp.* (i. 37) and in *de Finibus* (ii. 19) he admits the death of three Decii. These discrepancies confirm the opinion of Valerius Maximus and Dionysius.

³ Dionysius and Plutarch cite the *Commentaries* (ὑπομνήματα) of Pyrrhus. He had likewise written a treatise on the art of war which Cicero read. (*Fam.* ix. 25.) [I have even abridged it further in the translation, as the details are quite conventional, and of no moment in explaining to us the real points of strategy employed by either side.—*Ed.*]^c

Macedonian infantry were on the right with the Italian mercenaries and the auxiliaries of Bruttium and Lucania; the Ætolians and Acarnanians filled the centre. The left wing was formed by the Samnite battalions. The cavalry, elephants, and light-armed soldiers covered the two extremities of the line, which reached a terrace of land raised above the plain. A reserve of two thousand cavalry was under the direct orders of Pyrrhus. The consuls adopted a similar order. In the space between the four legions, they placed the contingents from Latium and Campania and their other allies. They distributed equally their cavalry on the two flanks of the army. Three hundred four-wheeled war-chariots, bristling with scythes and lances, were intended to take part this time in the action. They had been furnished with long, movable poles, carrying at one end bundles of tow steeped in pitch, in order that when in flames the smoke and the smell would rout the elephants.

“Pyrrhus had 70,000 infantry, 16,000 of whom were Greeks, who had crossed the Ionian Sea; the consuls had nearly as many, of whom 20,000 were Roman citizens and 8,000 horse. The king had rather more cavalry and nineteen elephants.

“On the signal being given, the Greeks sounded the pæan, and the cavalry opened the action. In the royal army the prize for valour was gained by the Macedonians, who made the first legion and the Latin allies retreat; in the Roman army it was merited by the second legion, who made the Molossi, Thesprotes and Chaonians yield.

“The battle was maintained with this alternation of diverse fortune, when an unexpected succour reached the Romans. A body of four thousand infantry and four hundred horsemen from the city of Arpi, seeking to join the consuls, reached the high grounds at the rear of the king's camp and attacked it. Warned by a soldier, Pyrrhus ordered his bravest horse to hasten to the camp with some elephants, and drive away the pillagers. But the latter had already set fire to it, and, on seeing the troops dispatched against them, they retired to a steep hill which the cavalry were unable to climb.

“However, in the plain the fight continued. The king was the first to grow tired, and began, at the decline of day, to withdraw.

The Romans also withdrew; they crossed the river, and returned to their camp. Pyrrhus did not find his own again; the tents and his baggage were burnt, and many of the wounded perished through failure of succour;¹ but he remained master of the field of battle."

If the Romans were worsted, they had, at all events, yielded a victory dearly bought (279).²

For Pyrrhus this war was decidedly very serious and very slow. He desired nothing more than a pretext to give it up with honour. Fabricius having forewarned him that his physician, Philip, sought to poison him, he sent back all the prisoners without ransom (278).³ After this exchange of amenities it was hard to fight any longer. So, leaving Milo in the citadel of Tarentum, and his son Alexander at Locri, he crossed into Sicily, whither the Greeks had invited him against the Mamertines and Carthaginians.

II.—PYRRHUS IN SICILY; CAPTURE OF TARENTUM (272).



Alexander II.,
King of Epirus.⁵

Carthage had recently sent a fleet to Ostia of a hundred and twenty galleys, offering help to the senate against Pyrrhus. The senate had declined it, at the same time renewing their ancient alliance. The two republics seemed to have then the same interests; they struggled against the same enemies: the one against the Greeks of Italy, the other against those of Sicily. The Carthaginians were again besieging Syracuse. It is to the succour of this city that Pyrrhus,⁴ as son-in-law of Agathocles, was invited. He raised the blockade, and drove the Africans back

¹ Dionys. *Ant. Rom.*, *excerpta ex libro*, xx. 1, 3.

² According to the Roman annalists, their countrymen had made a great carnage of the king's troops. A contemporary, Hieronymus of Cardia, following the Commentaries of Pyrrhus, makes the loss of the Romans six thousand men, that of the Epirotes three thousand five hundred and six. [Cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ii. 454.—*Ed.*]

³ These details are too strongly out of character with the wars which precede or follow and with ancient manners, which possess nothing chivalrous in them, to be accepted without suspicion. The story of Pyrrhus' physician is an evident reminiscence of the story of Alexander's physician.

⁴ Pyrrhus had married his daughter Larissa or Lanessa. Cf. Diod. xxii. 14.

⁵ Alexander, son of Pyrrhus and Larissa, with a head dress from the hide of an elephant's head. Gem from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2050 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

from port to port as far as Lilybæum, which he could not take. There, as in Italy, after victories arose misunderstanding with his allies and the tediousness of a war which would not end. Pyrrhus had lost Cineas. Urged on by new counsellors to violent measures, he severely punished some acts of perfidy, and alienated by his haughtiness the Sicilians, to whom he wished to give as their king his son Alexander. Besides, he had remaining very few of his veteran Epirotes, as the bravest had perished at Heraclea, Asculum, and in the battles against the Carthaginians. With an army of Greek and barbarian mercenaries he did not feel able for the hate of the Sicilians. The entreaties of the Italians, hard pressed by Rome, decided him; and for the second time he left his enterprise uncompleted (278-276).

Every year, since his departure, had been marked by the successes of the Romans. In 278 Fabricius had beaten the Lucanians, Bruttians, Tarentines, Salentines, and compelled Heraclea to enter into alliance with Rome. In 277 Rufinus and Bubulcus had completed the devastation of Samnium, and forced the remainder of the population to seek, like wild beasts, a refuge in the forests, and on the highest mountains. Then Rufinus had gone to capture Croton and Locri. The following year there



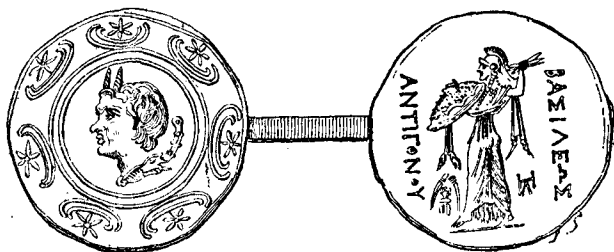
Coin of Beneventum.¹

was a fresh victory over all those nations who then recalled Pyrrhus. At the crossing of the Straits the Carthaginians beat his fleet, and captured his military chest; then he encountered the Mamertines, who had reached Italy before him, and through whom he was compelled to force a passage. One of them, of gigantic stature, was eager in his pursuit, when Pyrrhus turned about and with an axe cleft him from the head to the saddle. At Locri, which he re-entered, he pillaged Proserpine's temple to pay his mercenaries. But this sacrilege, he himself said, drew down on his arms the anger of the goddess,² and caused his fortune to fail at Beneventum. Curius

¹ Coin of Beneventum, BENVENTOD. Laurel-crowned head of Apollo: on the reverse, ΠΡΟΠΟΜ, a word that Eckhel (vol. i. p. 102) believes to be the name of a magistrate. A horse at large; above, a pentagon. Bronze coin.

² Ὡς . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις ὑπομνήμασι γράφει. (Dionys. Ant. Rom., exc. ex libris, xx. 10.)

Dentatus was then in command of the Roman army. The legion-



Coin of Antigonus Gonatas.²

aries had become accustomed to the *Lucanian oxen*,¹ as they named the elephants; they knew how to keep them off by a shower of darts, or by burning brands: their victory

was complete. Even the royal camp fell into their hands (275).



Ptolemy
Philadelphus.³

Pyrrhus was unable longer to keep in Italy; he left a garrison at Tarentum, and crossed into Epirus (274) with an army reduced to eight thousand men, and without money to pay it. He led it to fresh enterprises, tried to reconquer Macedonia from Antigonus Gonatas, was proclaimed king there for the second time, then met an ignoble death at the attack on Argos, from the hand of an old woman (272).

The following inscription has been recently found at Dodona:⁴ "King Pyrrhus and the Epirotes have dedicated to Jupiter Naïos these spoils of the Romans and their allies." Whilst these lying [?] trophies



Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁵

were hung up in the most venerable of the sanctuaries of Greece, Curius was triumphing at Rome on a car drawn by four elephants, and an ambassador from

the King of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus, came to congratulate the senate, and to ask its friendship. The alliance of the two States became a rule of national policy, at Rome as at Alexandria.

¹ [A formation like Turkey-cock, or Nil-pferd.—*Ed.*]

² Coin of Antigonus Gonatas.¹ Bust of Pan, with the *pedum* (see p. 142) on a Macedonian shield; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ. Minerva walking, beside her, a helmet and monogram. Tetradrachm in silver of Antigonus Gonatas.

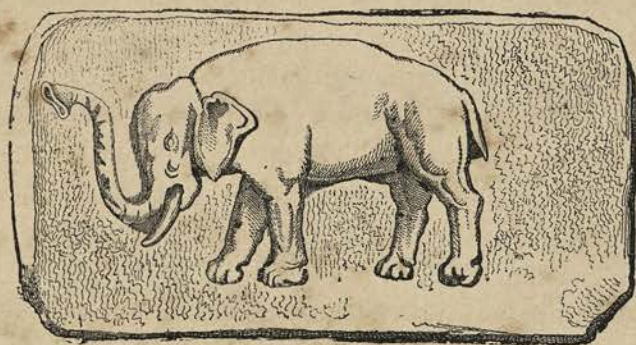
³ After the quadruple stater of gold of Ptolemy Soter, Berenice, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoë.

⁴ By M. Carapanos, the able and learned excavator of Dodona, the results of which he has published in a magnificent work.

⁵ On the right, the head of Demetrius Poliorcetes; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ: a horse-soldier (Demetrius?) with a Macedonian helmet and armed with a lance. Gold stater.

Some years before Demetrius Poliorcetes had sent back to the senate some prisoners made on the Italian ships which cruised in Greek waters. Thus, the princes of the East turned their eyes towards this new power, which they saw seizing the dominion of Italy. But in Pyrrhus the Romans had conquered in advance all the successors of Alexander. The Romans had triumphed over the Macedonian phalanx and the elephants, those living engines of war belonging to the Asiatic and African armies.

Hostilities, but of no importance, lasted for some years longer in the South of Italy. A victory of Papirius Cursor and Spurius



Quincussis with the Figure of an Elephant.¹

Carvilius disarmed the last Samnite bands. This people at length submitted, and gave numerous hostages. It was seventy years ago since the battle of Mount Gaurus had been fought, and in this long war the consuls obtained the triumph twenty-four times.

The same year Papirius received the submission of the Lucanians, and Milo (272) delivered up Tarentum, the walls of which were destroyed, its arms and vessels taken away. The citadel was preserved, into which the senate put a garrison to hold the city, which was condemned to an annual tribute, and to keep away the Carthaginians from the best part of South Italy. Pyrrhus had, in fact, hardly left before distrust grew up between the two republics. During the siege of Tarentum by the Romans

¹ This money, worth five-twelfths of a libra, was coined in memory of the victory gained over Pyrrhus.

a Carthaginian fleet appeared outside the port,¹ offering assistance. Papirius had done all he could to keep off this formidable aid, and the city owed to these fears the fact of its being less harshly treated. Before eight years were gone by, this mistrust changed into a terrible war.

The struggle for the rule of Italy was ended. Measures rather of policy than of war will account for some agitations, which are the last paroxysms of this great body of Italian people. *The senate knows that there are no enemies to be despised, and that great conflagrations are often produced from mere sparks. Placed in the centre of Italy, it could hear the least sound and watch every movement. Nothing escaped this surveillance which never slept in times of success, and as soon as danger showed itself, strong forces were at once sent to the threatened point.*

Thus, in the year that followed the capture of Tarentum, the consul, Genucius, went to demand reckoning for their misdeeds of the revolted legionaries of Rhegium. Three hundred of them being sent to Rome were scourged and beheaded. The rest had almost all perished in the attack.²

In 269 a Samnite hostage, Lollius, escaped from Rome, collected a few adventurers, and tried to raise the Caraceni in the high valley of the Sagrus. The two consuls at once sent against him quickly stifled this re-opening war.

The year after, it is the Picentes, who are struggling with two other consular armies, and who are compelled to submit at the mercy of the senate; then the Sarsinates and the whole Umbrian nation which receives the final stroke; and lastly, in the South of Italy the Salentines and Messapians, who suffer the attack of the legions less on account of their alliance with Pyrrhus than because they possess the port of Brundisium, the best passage from Italy to Greece. Already the senate turned its eyes in this direction. Some disturbances were arising also in certain villages

¹ There are, as to this fact, great variations between Orosius (iv. 2), Zonaras (viii. 6), the *Epitome* of Livy (xiv.) and Dion Cassius. In Livy (xxi. 10), Hanno gives as the cause of the first Punic war an attack on Tarentum projected by the Carthaginians. But it is Livy who makes him say it.

² Polyb. i. 7; Val. Max. II. vii. 15.

of Etruria, where two classes, the dominant and the subject, were always face to face; the latter cultivating the earth, working marble and iron for the former who lived in abundance, whilst the plebs, subjected to a sort of slavery, continued in wretchedness.

At Rome the poor had reached, by a slow but continuous progress, comfort, political equality and agreement with the patricians; in Etruria they wished to attain this change by violence and crime. This difference explains the opposite destinies of the two peoples.

Volsinii, built on a hill, over a beautiful lake, was the most important of the Etruscan cities,¹ but also one of the most effeminate, and its loose morals were combined with the most violent passions. A popular revolution deprived the nobles of their liberties, their property, even the honour of their families, for their daughters were compelled to marry the clients and slaves of the city. The nobility called in the Romans, who took the city by famine and destroyed it (360), after having carried away, Pliny assures us, two thousand statues. Much blood was shed. Rome made little distinction between the slaves revolted against their masters, the clients armed against their patrons, and the nobles, traitors to their native land. The remnants of the population were forbidden to inhabit the site of the old Etruscan metropolis. Even the ruins of this powerful city have disappeared.

This expedition was the last clash of arms heard in Italy till the explosion of the Punic wars (265). But these are impending. The military habits acquired by the Romans during these seventy years of fighting, this pillage of Italy which had enriched the city,² the nobility, and people—these victories, which had raised the ambition, the patriotism, and pride of the nation, were to commit Rome to eternal war. The genius of conquest henceforward inspired the senate house.

¹ *Caput Etruriæ* (Livy, x. 37). The temple of Voltumna, where the lucumons assembled yearly, was situated on its territory. The *tempio di Norzia*, to be seen at Bolsena near the Florence gate, is Roman work. The Etruscan city was on the height at the place called *il Piazzano*, above the amphitheatre of Bolsena (Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 508); the Roman city was built at the foot of the hill. It was a custom of the Romans to compel the vanquished to abandon cities built on heights and descend into the plain.

² If one can believe Valerius Max. (*IX. Ect.*, i. 2) these villains went much further.

CHAPTER XVII.

ORGANISATION OF ITALY BY THE ROMANS.

I.—THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY AND THE THIRTY-FIVE TRIBES.

WHILE Rome was bringing Italy into subjection, the Greeks were overturning the Persian monarchy. To the latter a few years in one human life had sufficed to conquer from the Adriatic to the Indus. Rome required a century to stretch from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina. If she advanced only step by step, she knew at least how to keep what she took; while Greece, at the end of a few generations, had lost all, even her liberty.

In that immovable East, where governments pass away like the water of the streams which are lost in the desert, but where manners last like unchangeable Nature, the revolution which transferred the empire from the Persians to the Macedonians had no lasting results, and that old world was agitated only on the surface. The Greeks found themselves neither numerous nor strong enough to organise after having conquered, to establish after having destroyed. Left, after Alexander, without guidance; lost, so to speak, in the midst of Asiatic populations, they exercised on the latter only a feeble influence, and by their imprudent divisions they encouraged revolts. What the conqueror might have perhaps known how to do—to bind together all these nations, whose bonds the Persian monarchy had broken in its fall, not one of his successors attempted.¹ In that, as in other

¹ [I need hardly say that the text gives rather a rhetorical than a historical view of the Diadochi. They each strove to recover for themselves the whole dominion of Alexander, at least Perdiccas did, and Antigonus, Demetrius, and Seleucus. But they were too evenly matched, and wore one another out in mutual conflicts. Ptolemy alone of the leading men confined himself to Egypt and the surrounding coast, and so Hellenized Egypt very completely. But,

things, Greece was convicted of impotence to organise anything great, beyond those petty States which its political and philosophical systems found even too large. In political order there resulted, then, from this conquest nothing but immense confusion; and if in moral order it established between these men, belonging to two worlds hitherto separated, a happy exchange of ideas—if, from a comparison of their philosophical and religious systems, there sprang a rich intellectual development, the West alone profited by it, because in the west Rome knew how to establish the order and unity of power.

The Roman republic grew slowly. Its territory expanded only in proportion to its population, and before making a province of a country, Rome prepared supports long beforehand; she formed there in advance a Roman population—Roman by its interests or its origin. Into the midst of twenty independent peoples she launches a colony—virtually a sentinel, which is always watching under arms. Of one city she makes an ally; to another she accords the privilege of living under Quiritary law; to one with the right of voting; to another with permission to keep its own government. Municipia of various grades, maritime colonies, Latin colonies, Roman colonies, prefectures, allied cities, free cities—all isolated by the difference of their condition, all united by their equal dependence on the senate, they form a vast net-work which enfolds the Italian peoples, until the day when, without further struggles, they awake subjects of Rome. Let us examine leisurely this policy which made of a small city the grandest empire in the [ancient] world.¹

Ancient patriotism had something material and narrow in it. The country which could be seen and touched, the extent of which could be embraced with the eye, from Cape Sunium, Mount Taygetus, or the Capitol, was the veritable fatherland, the altar and the hearth for which one should die: *pro aris et focis*. But the invisible bonds of common language, of ideas, sentiments, common

indeed, so did the Seleucidæ Hellenize Syria, and even as far as the Punjab Greek influences were deep and lasting.—*Ed.*]

¹ Tacitus says so (*Ann.*, xi. 24): *Quid aliud exitio Lacedæmoniis et Atheniensibus fuit, quanquam armis pollerent, nisi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant? At conditor nostri Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes, dein cives habuerit* (Speech of Claudius).

manners, and interests, this patriotism born of Christian brotherhood and modern civilization, was unknown in antiquity.¹ Each was of his own tribe, his canton, or his city. Like Sparta, Athens, and Carthage, like all the conquering republics of antiquity, Rome did not desire its sovereignty to pass beyond its Forum and its senate house. These cities were not capitals, but the entire State. There were citizens² only inside these walls or on the narrow territory which lay around them; beyond were only conquered lands or subjects. Moreover, Sparta, Athens, and Carthage, which never gave up this municipal pride, were never more than cities, and perished.³ Rome, which often forgot it, became a great people, and lived twelve centuries.

The political wisdom of the Romans never rose, however, to the idea of creating an Italian nation. To deprive the vanquished of the right of foreign policy because it was Rome's interest to suppress local wars in Italy, as later on she put them down in the world; to place them in varied conditions of dependence so that an unequal pressure might prevent a dangerous concert—in short, to make use of them to promote Roman security and grandeur by requiring their assistance against every foreign enemy, this was the design of the senate when the legions had conquered Italy. To comprehend and control this situation the senate had merely to review its own history. Two very ancient ideas inspired its conduct: as regards political rights, it placed the Italians, in regard to the Roman people, into the condition in which the plebeians remained so long in their relation to the patricians; they made them a subordinate people:

¹ [This ignores the Pan-Hellenic sentiment so prominent in the policy of Pericles, the letters of Isocrates, the speeches of Demosthenes, and elsewhere.—*Ed.*]

² The maximum of the number of citizens was at Athens 20,000. (Thucyd., ii. 13; Demosth., *adv. Aristog.*, i.; Cf. Boeckh, i. 7.) "The limitation of the number of citizens was the basis of the government of Greece." (Letronne, *Acad. des Inscr.*, vi. 186.)

³ According to the public law of Greece the conquered were either massacred, as the Plataeans and Melians, or driven away, as the Potidæans, the Scyreans, the Carians of Lemnos, etc. (Thucyd., ii. 27; Diod. Sic., xii. 44; Corn. Nep., *Cim.*, 2, and *Milt.*, 2); or enslaved, as the Dolopes, the Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros (Thucyd., i. 98; Diod., xi. 60) and the ancient inhabitants of Crete under the Dorians (Athen., vi.); or made slaves of the soil, as the Helots, the Penestæ, the Maryandinians among the Heracleotes of Pontus, the Gymnesii at Argos. (Müller, *Dor.*, ii. p. 55.) Others, more fortunate, were subjected only to tribute and some humiliating conditions, as the Messenians, the Lesbians, etc. (Paus., *Messen.*, Thucyd., iii. 50.) All this was far from the state of things in the Roman policy.

as regards the common defence, they imposed on them the part which the Latins and Hernicans had filled after the treaty of Spurius Cassius; it used them as guardians of its fortunes and instruments of its power.

The origin of Rome, in fact, its history and policy, which under the kings, had opened the city to the conquered, under the consuls, the senate to the plebeians, had taught the senate that force alone establishes nothing durable, and that the vanquished cannot be trampled under foot for ever. Implacable on the field of battle, Rome showed, no pity either for the hostile chiefs who fell into her hands or for the city handed over to her will. She massacred in cold blood, and made wars of extermination, at the end of which whole peoples had disappeared. In other cases she takes a part, of their territory; that is ancient war in all its severity. But after the victory there is no tyrannical oppression; she leaves to her subjects their laws, their magistrates, their religion, in fact all their municipal life; no tribute—that lasting and painful mark of defeat and servitude; no fiscal extortions or arbitrary levies of soldiers; in case of a common danger they furnish subsidies of men and money according to rules established for the Romans themselves. If they have lost their independence they have become members of a powerful State, which reflects on them the glory of its name, and when the wounds made by war are healed, they are certainly more happy than before their defeat, since they enjoy peace and security in place of frequent struggles and perpetual alarms.¹

The sovereign people of the Quirites is always that of the Forum, and it can exercise its rights only in the sacred enclosure of the *pomœrium*;² but into this enclosure the vanquished are by degrees admitted, according as they become gradually

¹ Dionys. (i. 89) says of Rome: *κοινοτάτην τε πόλεων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην*; Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 16, and Sall., *Cat.*, 6; Flor., i. 1; Livy, *passim*; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 24; and Cicero in a beautiful passage (*de Legibus*, ii. 2) and in *pro Balbo* (13): *Romulus docuit etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere. Cujus auctoritate . . . nunquam est intermissa largitio et communicatio civitatis*. [All these panegyrics on the Roman peace ignore the fact that Italy as a whole did not prosper under this rule. It became depopulated more and more, and provincial life became gradually sadder and duller. The loss of political liberty, with the impetus it gives to intellect and to material enterprise, is never counterbalanced by the so-called blessings of an ignoble and compulsory peace.—*Ed.*]

² *Roma sola urbs, cetera oppida*. (Isid., viii. 6.)

penetrated with the Roman spirit. The bravest and nearest entered it first. It was, without doubt, for the Romans a partition of the profits of victory; so also was it, by doubling their number, an assurance of new victories and durable conquests. Between 384 and 264 twelve tribes were created, and the *ager Romanus* spread from the Ciminian forest to the middle of Campania. On this territory the censors reckoned 292,334 fighting men,¹ *i.e.* a population of 1,200,000 souls close around Rome, which was certainly strong



Chest of Præneste.²

enough to keep the rest of Italy in awe.³ Two centuries before the military population did not exceed 124,214 men.⁴ In spite of the losses from the Gallic and Samnite wars, the force of Rome in citizens, and consequently in soldiers, increased in the proportion

¹ Census made at the commencement of the first Punic war (*Epit. Livy, xvi.*). Cf. *Eutrop., ii. 10.*

² This chest, taken from the *Atlas* of the *Bull. Arch.*, vol. viii. pl. 8, has unfortunately been cut, no doubt to lessen its height. The part which remains represents Æneas killing Turnus, Camilla on her chariot, etc. It is the old legend of the Trojan origin of Rome, treated by a Greek artist. We shall see later at what period the legend became established in Latium.

³ I follow, for the evaluation of the whole population, the rule adopted by Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici*. Ihne (*Röm. Gesch.*, i. 465) stretches these figures, and reaches a population of a million and a half, for which he gives half a million of slaves. I think both these numbers exaggerated, especially the latter.

⁴ Census of 463 (*Livy, iii. 3*). The number in 333 was still only 169,000, before the great annexations which the success of the war, then commencing, admitted.

of 1 to 3. The old Roman stock counts for scarcely half of this number. But its 21 tribes¹ gave 21 votes, and the new citizens, perhaps more numerous, counted as 12 only; the districts of south Etruria, Roman since 387 B.C., had 4 votes; the Latins, Volscians, Ausones, and the Æquians, 2 each; the Sabines in 241 formed no more than 2 tribes.² Let us add that, the distance from Rome of the new citizens did not permit them, without costly journeys, to attend the comitia to vote in the centuries. Thus, while doubling her military strength, while declaring the peoples established around her as far as 50, 60, or 100 miles from her walls, members of the sovereign State, Rome prudently reserved to her ancient citizens their legitimate influence. She satisfies the vanity of her subjects without altering the fundamental nature of her constitution; she remains a city, and is already almost a people; she has the strength of numbers and that of unity.

This union, however, was never so complete but that there remained at the very gates of Rome some independent towns. In every direction the territory of the 35 tribes, *ager Romanus*, was intersected by foreign territories, *ager peregrinus*. At Tibur, at Præneste, the Roman exiles found an inviolable asylum, for the law which interdicted them fire and water was unable to touch them beyond the lands of the republic.³ While making their own Forum the only theatre of political discussions, the only place from the Umbro to the Vulturnus where lofty ambition and great talents could find scope, the senate wished to leave some encouragement to this old love of the Italians for municipal independence. Many a town of Latium, *nomen Latinum*,⁴ still continued a foreign

¹ Four Urban: the *Esquiline*, *Colline*, *Suburan* and *Palatine*, 17 rural; *Æmilia*, *Camilia*, *Claudia*, *Cornelia*, *Crustumina*, *Fabia*, *Valeria*, *Horatia*, *Lemonia*, *Menenia*, *Papiria*, *Politia*, *Pupinia*, *Romilia*, *Sergia*, *Veturia*, and *Voltinia*. The four urban tribes have geographical names; the seventeen rural tribes, one only excepted, *Crustumina*, bear the names of patrician *gentes*.

² Etruscan: *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina*, *Aruiensis*, in 387 (Livy, vi. 5);—Volscian: *Pomptina* and *Publilia*, in 358 (Livy, vii. 15);—Latins: *Mæcia* and *Scaptia*, in 332 (Livy, viii. 17);—Ausones, *Oufentina* and *Falerina*, in 318 (Livy, ix. 20);—Æqui, *Aniensis* and *Terentina*, in 299 (Livy, x. 9);—Sabines, *Velina* and *Quirina*, in 241 (Livy. *Epit.*, xix.).

³ The same at Naples.

⁴ The *nomen Latinum* now includes what remained of the ancient Latin peoples not yet attached to the Roman city, and those who had received the *jus Latii*, as *colonies of the Latin name*: but among these people "of the Latin name" there were also differences: some kept some of the privileges from the ancient alliance concluded by Sp. Cassius; others, who perhaps

city, and yet attached by divers bonds to the great association of peoples and cities which formed the Roman republic. Less hardly treated in general than the other peoples of Italy, surrounded by Roman citizens, possessing the same material interests, the same language, the same manners, often the same civil laws, with the right of trade, *jus commercii*, and many facilities for obtaining the freedom of the city, the Latins had no other feelings than those of Roman citizens. The election of their magistrates and senators (*decuriones*), the liberty left them of making laws of local interest, of administering their revenues, of coining,¹ of watching over the worship and police of their city,² occupied men's life in these little cities. Their political speaking, less far-reaching than the Roman debates, was not less impassioned. Before seeing at Rome the rivalry of Marius and Sylla, Cicero had seen at Arpinum the hereditary struggles of his ancestors and of those of Marius.³ But the senate took good care not to forget these consuls, these municipal censors in their own municipality. It had appointed that the exercise of a municipal office should give the freedom of the Roman city,⁴ in this way attaching to the fortune and interests of Rome whatever men of wealth, nobility, or ambition were in the Latin towns. To disarm the plebeians it had taken their chiefs into its bosom; to disarm the Latins it summoned their nobility to Rome.

This freedom of the city, which the senate knew so well how

were at first the inhabitants of the twelve Latin colonies founded since 268, had not the right of coinage, excepting copper, and retained the *jus commercii* with restrictions. Hence one distinction between the *Latium majus* and the *Latium minus*, which spread greatly under the empire. This *Latium minus* opened the Roman city to those of the Latins who had borne one of the great municipal offices or convicted a Roman magistrate of peculation.

¹ It seems that from 268 the Latins ceased the coinage of silver money, and that the issuing of their bronze coin stopped after the second Panic war. (Mommsen, *Hist. of Roman Money*, vol. iii. pp. 188-195.)

² Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xvi. 13: *legibus suis et suo jure utentes*. See *ibid.*, iv. 4, the proof of the existence among the Latins of a civil law distinct from that of Rome for marriages, and in Livy (xxxv. 7) for debts. The Julian law destroyed this special law.

³ *De Leg.*, iii. 16: Arpinum, on a hill which overhangs the Liris near its confluence with the Fibrenus, was surrounded by Cyclopean walls, with a remarkable gate (see this gate, p. xli. No. 7) Cicero built for himself quite near a villa on one of the isles of the Fibrenus. See the charming description which he gives of it in *de Legibus*, ii. 1. It is in this passage that the beautiful words are found, cited on p. 89.

⁴ Strab., iv. p. 187: App., *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 26: Ὁν ὅσοι κατ' ἔρος ἤρχον ἐγίγνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται; Gaius, i. 96: *Hi qui vel magistratum vel honorem gerunt ad civitatem Romanam perveniunt*.

to use for stimulating zeal, recompensing services, or softening the regret of lost liberty,¹ implied for him who had obtained it absolute authority over his children, wife, slaves, and property, the guarantee of personal liberty, of religion, of the right of appeal, and that of voting up to 60 years of age;² fitness for office, inscription on the censor's lists, and the obligation of military service in the legions; that of permission to buy and sell according to the law of the Quirites;³ exemption from every impost except that which citizens paid;⁴ lastly, the useful right of participating in the enjoyment of the domain lands, or in the adjudication of public rent charges—in a word, the benefit of the civil, political, and religious laws of the Romans. Among these laws, some affect the family and property—these are included under the name of *jus Quiritium*; others affected the State—this is the *jus civitatis*; all together, they formed the freedom of the city in its fullness, *jus civitatis optimo jure*.

II.—MUNICIPIA, PREFECTURES, AND FEDERAL TOWNS.

The senate conferred on the Italians outside the 35 tribes either the civil rights of the Cærites⁵ after the Gallie invasion, or political rights in their full extent. Sometimes the senate granted only the right of trade (*commercium*), or of marriage (*connubium*), and in this case children followed the condition of the father." Far from dishonouring the freedom of the city by an imprudent liberality, the senate parcelled it out in order to vary the concessions,

¹ However, some Italians refused this so envied honour. (Livy, ix. 45; xxiii. 20.)

² Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 5: Pliny, *Ep.*, iv. 23; Festus, s. v. *Sexagenarios*.

³ *Patria potestas, jus connubii, legitimi dominii, testamenti, hereditatis, libertatis, provocationis, sacrorum, suffragii, honorum vel magistratuum, census, commercii, militiæ.*

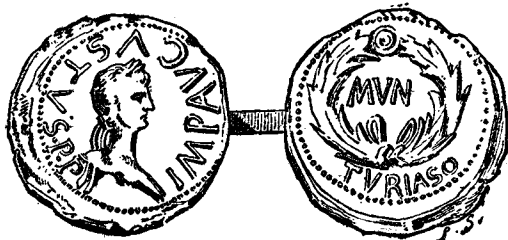
⁴ That is to say, a moderated impost, some rights of customs, and excise of one-twentieth on the sale and setting free of slaves.

⁵ As they neither could vote nor hold any office, the censors, in order to punish a citizen, inscribed him in *tabulas Cæritum*. But this list of Cærites had at first been a title of honour, when the inhabitants of Cære were associated to the Roman State, *ea conditione ut semper rem publicam separatam a populo Romano haberent*. (Festus, s. v. *Municeps*.)

⁶ Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 77. When marriage had taken place between persons not having the *jus connubii*, the condition of the children was fixed by that of the mother; in the case of a marriage of a foreigner with a Roman, *natum deterioris parentis conditionem sequi jubet lex Mensia*. (Ulp., *Lib. reg.*, v. 8; Cf. Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 78, 81, 86.)

which enabled it to repay zeal or punish lukewarmness by making everywhere inequality.

These concessions were made sometimes to a man, or a family, or an entire class; more often to a whole city. *Municipia* was the name given to the cities thus annexed to the great Roman society. They were of three kinds¹:—



Coin of a *Municipium*.²

1. *Municipia optimo jure*, whose inhabitants had all the rights and obligations of Roman citizens. Their internal government was copied from that of Rome, but they ceased to be an independent State, *civitas*, since they formed part of the republic, and had not the right of coining money, which the federated cities and Latin colonies possessed.

2. *Municipia* without the right of suffrage, whose inhabitants were in the same condition as the ancient plebeians of Rome, bore the title of citizens, served in the legions, but could not hold office or vote.³

3. *Towns* having a treaty of alliance with Rome who bound them to her fortune without altering their laws and institutions.

Below the *municipia* came, in this social hierarchy, the *præfecturæ*, which had no local magistrates at all; a prefect, sent yearly from Rome, administered justice and did all the public business; then cities sunk to the state of simple country towns, *vici*.⁴

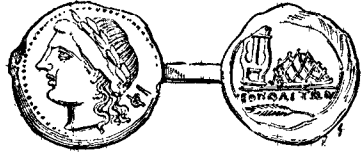
¹ Fest., s. v. *Municipium*. When the people, on receiving the freedom of the city, adopted the Roman laws, *beneficio populi Romani*, it was called *fundus*, and its citizens adjusted their actions at law to the Roman law, sometimes before a *præfectus jure dicundo*, who was called the *prætor urbanus*. So it was at Arpinum, whose inhabitants had the right of voting at Rome, and in several other cities. Let us note, too, in passing that the prefects, whatever their functions, and these were very variable, were always nominated and not elected.

² Laurel-crowned head of Augustus, with the legend, AVGVSTVS P. P. IMP. (Augustus, Pater patriæ, Emperor). On the reverse, MVN. (*municipium*) in a crown of laurel, and the name of the *municipium*, TVRIASO. Medium sized bronze coin, of coarse workmanship, struck in a Spanish city.

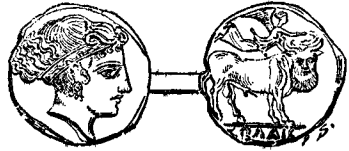
³ Fest., s. v. *Municipes* . . . *cives erant et in legione merebant, sed dignitates non capiebant*. The Campanians were in this class; it is for this reason that Polybius counts them with the Romans. Cf., Livy, viii, 14. Fest., s. v. *Præfectus*.

⁴ . . . *in quibus et jus dicebatur et nundinæ agebantur . . . neque tamen magistratus suos habebat*. (Fest., *ibid.*)

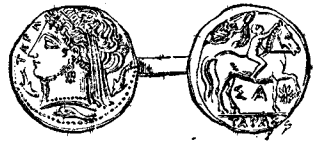
The prefectures of this sort were cities punished for their too great power or their revolts, as Capua during the second Punic war, or cities troubled by intestine dissensions and which asked of Rome a body of laws and a prefect.¹ In the Middle Ages every Italian republic had also a foreign Podesta. Yet among the prefecturæ the same diversity existed as among the municipia, and doubtless for the same reasons.

Coin of Naples.²

The *dedititii* were still more severely treated: handed over by victory to the discretion of Rome, they had been obliged to give up arms and hostages, to beat down their walls or receive garrisons, to pay tribute and furnish a contingent determined by the senate. According to the formula of *déditio* preserved by Livy, they and their property, even their gods, became the property of the conqueror.⁴ The *dedititii* were the subjects of Rome.

Coin of Nola.³

Others bore none of these names. They had with Rome treaties of public friendship or hospitality which made their citizens, when they came to the Forum, the guests of the Roman people, and permitted them to attend, in a place of honour, at religious feasts. Or again a convention, the terms of which they had struggled for, declared them the free allies of the Roman people, *civitates fœderatæ*: an illusion which served

Coin of Tarentum.⁵

¹ *Eodem anno (316) primum præfecti Capuam creari cæpti legibus ab L. Furio prætore datis, cum utrumque q̄ si pro remedio ægris rebus discordia intestina petissent.* (Livy, ix, 20).

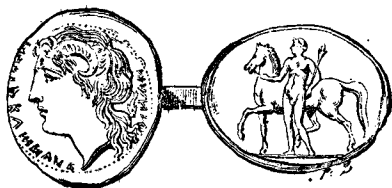
² Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. The reverse, a lyre and the vase called *cortina* which received the first oil come from the press, or water carried to horses and circus-riders. A small bronze of the Neapolitans, ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

³ Head of a woman. The reverse, ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ, money of the Nolans—a bull with human face crowned by a winged victory. Silver didrachma.

⁴ For the formula of *déditio* see page 32.

⁵ Head of a woman between three dolphins and the legend ΤΑΡΑ. The reverse, a young man on horseback crowned by a victory. Gold *stater* of Tarentum, the Greek name of which is ΤΑΡΑΣ.

the designs of the senate without taking aught from its power. Tarentum was free like the Hernican cities;¹ but its demolished walls, its citadel occupied by a Roman legion told plainly what sort of liberty it was. Naples was the ally of Rome as also Velia, Nola, Nuceria, the Marsi and Peligni, and a number of other peoples, that they were obliged in all wars to give vessels and pay for the troops.² The Camertines and Heracleotes had treated on an equal footing, *æquo fœdere*;³ Tibur, Præneste, had



Coin of Nuceria.⁴

preserved all the external signs of independence, like the greater part of the Etruscan and Greek cities, and seemed like foreign States. But these allies of Rome had promised to respect "the Roman majesty"—which interdicted them from every enterprise against the fortunes of the Roman people.⁵ The term moreover was vague enough to let the senate extract from it all the obligations which suited them, and as in every city, Rome had created friends by sustaining the party of the nobles against the popular party, from which some stupid heroism⁶ was always apprehended, what could this equality be between some obscure cities and the mistress of Italy? What was this independence due simply to the disdainful or politic moderation of the conqueror?

Such then was the policy pursued by the senate in its treatment of the vanquished: the respect of local liberties in all the cities where particular circumstances had not demanded severity, but no general treatment which would have united what the senate wished to keep separate: on the contrary, formal interdiction of every league, of all commerce, even of marriage,

¹ They had autonomy. (Livy, ix, 43).

² Livy, xxviii, 45. Rhegium, Velia, Pæstum rendered ships also (xxvi, 39). Likewise Tarentum (xxxv, 16), Locri (xxxvi, 42), Uria (xlii, 48), *et aliæ civitates ejusdem juris*. Cicero says, speaking of these duties imposed on the allied cities:—*Inerat nescio quo modo, in illo fœdere societatis, quasi quædam nota servitutis* (II in Ferr., v. 20).

³ Cic., *pro Arch.*, 4; *pro Balbo*, 20, 22; Livy, xxvii, 46.

⁴ Head of a young woman with a ram's horn; Oscan legend; behind the head a dolphin, and on the reverse a Dioscurus standing, holding his horse by the bridle and a sceptre. Silver money of Nuceria.

⁵ . . . *ut populi Romani majestatem comiter conservaret* (Dig., xlix, 15, 7 § 1).

⁶ At Capua, during the second Punic war, the nobles remained faithful to the Romans; the people were for Hannibal.

between the Italians of cities or different cantons ;¹ and for every people who submitted, special conditions ; for every city a special treaty !² To judge from appearances, one might take Italy for a confederation of free States, one of which in the centre surpassed the others only in power and renown. The fate of the Latin league has taught us already what must be that of the Italian confederation.

The prohibition which broke every bond between the cities was political and is easily comprehended ; that which authorized the exercise to the Italian of the *jus commercii* only within the limits of his own territory was economic and had grave results which do not appear at first sight. The Romans, being alone able to buy and sell throughout the peninsula, and meeting with a very limited competition from the inhabitants of the place where the transaction commenced, possessed a privilege which permitted them by degrees to unite in their own hands a great part of the Italian landed property. This limitation certainly contributed much to the formation of the *latifundia*, which, in the centuries following, established, for the profit of the Romans, immense domains cultivated by armies of slaves.

There were however conditions common to the whole of Italy. Thus prudence counselled not to subject the Italians to a land tax, and this exemption became one of the marks of the Italian law under the Empire.. But citizens *pleno jure*, citizens *sine suffragio*, allies or *socii*, federals, all were subjected to military service, which warlike peoples then scarcely regarded as a burden, and so contingents had to be raised, armed, paid, perhaps even supported at the expense of the cities³—a just law, since Rome at first demanded them only for the common defence.

¹ Cf. Livy, viii. 14 ; ix. 45 ; xlv. 29.

² For towns bearing the same title some differences existed. Thus Messina and Tauro-menium became during the first Punic war *federatæ*, but the former furnished a ship, and the other was not expected to do so. (Cic., II., in *Verr.*, v. 19.)

³ For the incorporation of the Italians into the Roman army, see Polyb., vi. *Frag.* 5. He says that Rome gave gratuitously corn and barley to the Italian auxiliaries (*ibid.*, p. 8), while she retained the cost of it out of the pay of the Roman citizens. We infer from this passage that she did not undertake the pay of the auxiliaries, although she divided the booty with them. But their chiefs, *præfecti sociorum*, were Roman citizens. (Livy, xxiii. 7.)

III.—COLONIES AND MILITARY ROADS.

After having divided the interests there was need to prevent them from becoming reunited: the colonies forestalled this danger.

The Greek colonies were sometimes founded with a commercial end in view, like the three hundred factories of Miletus, but never for a political object, unless it were to rid the mother country of a surplus population or a turbulent crowd. Like the swarm driven from the hive, the colonists became strangers to their metropolis,¹ the utmost they owed to it was in religious matters—some marks of deference and filial respect. The civil law explains the political law; at Athens, the son, inscribed in the *phratría*, became a citizen, and no one had authority over him. At Rome the father was master of the life and property of his son, even if senator or consul.



Coin of a Colony.²

In the colony born of Rome,³ emancipation could never come. From the senate it received its municipal law; its internal organisation was sketched on that of the mother-country; it had senators or *decurions*, consuls or *duumvirs*, censors or *duumviri quinquennales*, but in case of war it had to pay a tribute to the Roman treasury, and to the legions even the very last of its able-bodied men.⁴ The ancient Roman colony was truly nothing but a garrison,⁵ sent out to the State lands, and as Machiavelli terms it, a sentinel.⁶ It was not settled at hazard,⁷ but in the most

¹ The κληροῦχοι must be always excepted. Athens entered upon this system after the Median wars, and to it owed the power that she enjoyed during half a century. The true Greek colonist was in a state of inferiority in respect to his metropolis (Thuc., i. 25). He of Athens, if he returned to Attica, was nothing more than a μέτοικος. See on this question the learned memoir of M. Foucart on *les Colonies athéniennes* of the 5th and 6th centuries.

² Reverse of a bronze struck at Carthago Nova. Two military ensigns, and around, C. AQUINVS MELA IIVIR QVIN (*duumvir quinquennalis*).

³ The colonies were reflections of Rome. *Ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt et jura institutaque omnia populi Romani habent . . . cujus istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse . . . videntur.* (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, XVI., xiii. 8—9.)

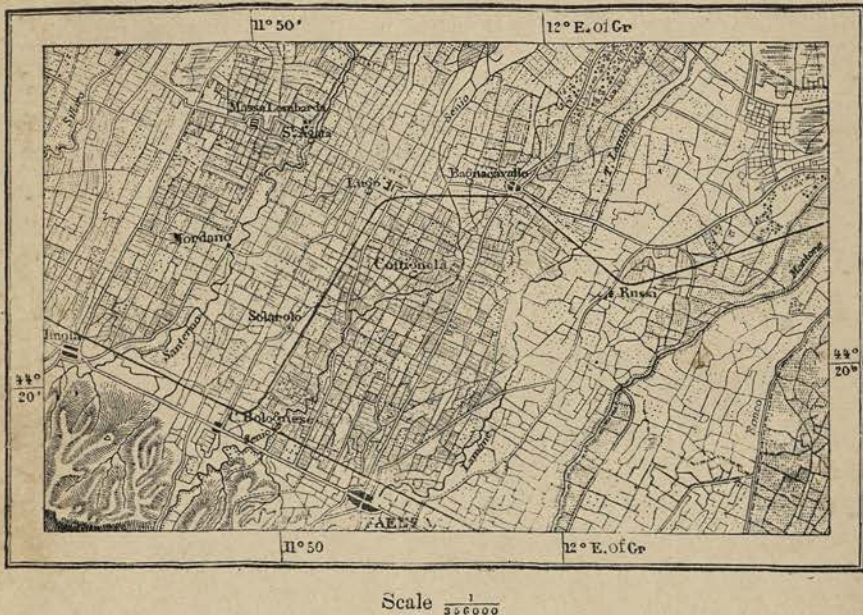
⁴ *Milites pecuniamque darent.* (Livy, xxix. 15.)

⁵ *Non tam oppida Italiae quam propugnacula imperii.* (Cic., in *Rull.*, ii. 27.)

⁶ The expression is Cicero's. In the speech *pro Fonteio* he calls Narbonne: *Specula populi Romani et propugnaculum.*

⁷ Servius (in *Æn.*, i. 12) defines a colony: *deducti sunt in locum certum adificiis munitum.*

fertile districts, on the banks of a river, or at a harbour. It had as its object not its own prosperity but the guardianship of a territory.¹ In place of building a city where it chose, it occupied



Scale $\frac{1}{356000}$
Ground Plan of Lands for a Colony.²

in narrow passes, on precipitous mountains, old cities surrounded by good walls and which commanded the country far and wide.³ The *agrimensor* having left Rome with the armed colonists, all veteran soldiers,⁴ divided among them houses and lands. At

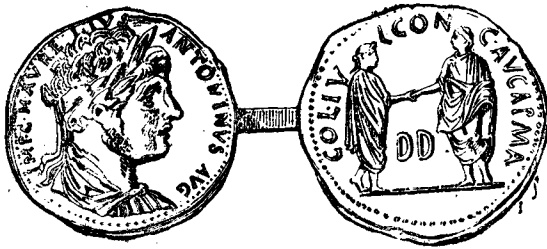
¹ Brutus (*ap. App., Bell. Civ., ii. 140*) calls the colonists: *φύλακας τῶν πεπολεμηκότων*.

² There still remain traces of the ground plans set out by the *agrimensores*: "In following the *Via Emilia*, between Cesena and Bologna, as well as here and there in the districts of Modena and Parma, the traveller is much surprised to see uniform paths, all perfectly parallel, equidistant and at right angles with the High road. They are all cut at right angles by other tracks, so that the fields have exactly the same area. Seen from the spurs of the Apennines these fields look like chess-boards of verdure or of ripening crops, and an accurate survey proves that in fact the soil of these districts is cut into rectangles of geometrical equality, being 776 yards long and about 124 acres. Now this square is precisely the Roman *centuria*, and Livy tells us that all these lands, after having been taken from the Gauls, were measured, squared, and divided among the Roman colonists. It is then, beyond doubt that these regular networks of roads, canals, and furrows date 20 centuries back, and are indeed, the work of the veterans of Rome." (*Reclus, Nouvelle géographie universelle*, vol. i. p. 344.)

³ Horace says, speaking of Venusia: *Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis.* (*Sat., II. i. 33.*)

⁴ Livy, iv. 48; Front., *Strat.*, iv. 3, 12. The colonists formed a little army, having its centurions and knights, who received a larger share (Livy, xxxv. 9, 50; xxxvii. 57; xl. 34).

the first, they were few in number; in the cities of Latium and the Sabine territory there were three hundred families; later on, when there was need to occupy important military frontiers, actual armies went forth: six thousand men went to Beneventum, to cover Campania; still more to Venusia, to threaten Magna Grecia, to defend Apulia, to check the Lucanians and the Samnites of the South. It is thought that the colonists, once established at the charge of the ancient inhabitants, and con-



Coin of the decurions.

sequently surrounded by enemies, were not allowed to desert their post and go to vote at Rome, and that like all the soldiers with the colours, the law deprived them of the right of deliberating. We have

no express evidence that they did not preserve the plenitude of their privileges as Roman citizens. But though they preserved them, they had something else to do than increase the din and crowd of the Forum. The republic required them to render its conquests durable; to watch over the vanquished and prevent revolts, to carry throughout Italy the language, manners, laws and blood of Rome and Latium.² This they secured so well that, within a few years, there was born in the depths of Apulia the man whom the Romans will style the father of their literature, *Ennius noster*, the poet who sang in 81 books the great deeds of their ancestors.

Three magistrates were generally charged with conducting them, and during the first year supervising their wants: *triumviri deducendis coloniis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent* (Livy, xxxii. 29). The colonies called maritime (not all the colonies on the sea were so, but only those which guarded an important port at the mouth of a river) were exempt from land service and sometimes that by sea: *sacro-sancta vacatio* (Livy, xxvii. 38; xxxvi. 3). They were required above all to defend the position which had been entrusted to them, and this interest appeared so considerable that the maritime colonies were composed of Roman citizens.

¹ Coin struck by decree of the decurions DD (*decreto decurionum*) at Apamea in Bithynia under Caracalla. Large bronze.

² Asconius (*in Pison.*) reckoned before the second Punic war 53 colonies, twenty-three of which had the *jus Latii*. Madvig and Mommsen have enumerated the names of thirty-one or thirty-two Roman colonies and of thirty-nine Latin colonies. In the latter not only Latins and Italians were admitted, but also plebeians from Rome, who preferred a property in a colony to the exercise of political rights in the Forum.

Following a custom derived from older Italy, the colonists, where the conquered had been spared, took usually a third of the territory; the natives shared the rest, and had in their own city only an inferior position, like that of the plebeians of Rome when the latter were still without the *jus suffragii* and the *jus honorum*. Thus revolts were frequent, and many a time were the colonists driven away or surprised and massacred by their subjects. But time and community of interests effaced, as at Rome, these differences. The colonial *populus* and *plebs* ended by being fused in the equality of municipal rights, to which was often added equality of rights with Rome, in virtue of a plebiscite which enrolled the city in one of the thirty-five tribes. Then there remained no other division than the natural one between the rich and poor, the *assidui* and the *cerarii*, the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*, which formed the great social division in the last days of the republic and under the empire.

With the Gracchi a new sort of colonies began—that of poor people to whom lands were given; another again with Marius and Sylla—that of soldiers who obtained lands as a military prize, two very different proceedings, which we shall discuss in due time.

To complete this sketch of the ancient colonies let us see what posts the senate gave them to guard.

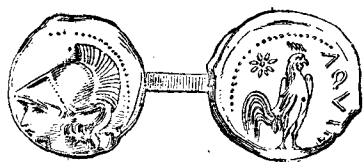
Till the Samnite war, Rome, more engaged in gaining peace within than conquests without, had formed a small number only of these establishments alike political and military. In Etruria, Sutrium and Nepete at the passes of the Ciminian forest; among the Rutuli, Ardea and Satricum; among the Volsci, Antium to watch the coast; Velitræ, Norba and Setia, to keep in check the mountain district.

In the war with Samnium the legions had conquered in vain; the war would never have ended, had not the senate, by its colonies, gradually made the enemy retreat to the Apennines. By Terracina, on the Appian way, it closed the route from Campania into Latium; by Fregellæ it barred the valley of the Trerus which led to Præneste and the Alban Mount, by Sora, Interamna, Minturnæ, all on the Liris, it covered the country of the Volsci and of the Hernicans.

A second line, defended the first—Atina, Aquinum, Casinum,

NN

in the mountainous country which separates the Volturnus from the Liris, closed the passes which the Samnites had many a time

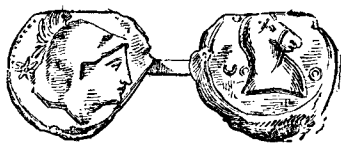


Coin of Aquinum.¹

followed to descend into the valley of this latter river, and from there stretch out their hand to the subdued peoples of Latium. Vescia, Suessa Aurunca, Teanum and Cales among the Sidicini, kept the country between the lower

Liris and the Volturnus.

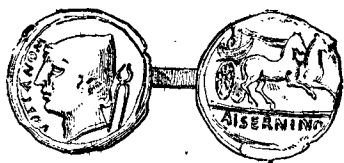
This double line, which encircled Latium on the south and south-east, was connected on the east by Alba Fucientia among the Marsi, Æsula and Carseoli among the Æqui, with the important position of Narnia, which covered the route from Umbria towards Rome and with the colonies of Etruria, Nepete, Sutrium, Cosa, Alsium, and Fregellæ. Behind this rampart Rome



Coin of Cosa.²

could brave every enemy. Hannibal and Pyrrhus, who once crossed this formidable circle, but without having broken it, did not dare to remain in the midst of it.

In the rest of Italy the colonies were less numerous: the population of Rome and its Latin allies would not have been sufficient to form so many garrisons: but by their strength and good position they were enabled to command a wide area. Thus Samnium had only two; at Æsernia and Beneventum, from whence started all the high roads of south Italy; Picenum, three; Hadria, Firmum, Castrum; Umbria, four, ranged along the route of the Gauls; Narnia, which barred the middle valley of the Tiber; Spoletum, which covered this place and



Coin of Æsernia.³

¹ Head of Minerva. Reverse, AQVIN, a cock and a star; small bronze of Aquinum on the *via Latina*, the ruins of which are to be seen still in the vicinity of the modern town of Aquino. It was the native place of Juvenal [and of the great St. Thomas.—*Ed.*].

² Head of Minerva. On the reverse, bust of a horse, CO(sa)NO. Small bronze.

³ Head of Vulcan: VOLCANOM; behind, pincers. On the reverse, AISERNINO and a young woman driving a biga. Small bronze of Æsernia, in the valley of the Volturnus, now Isernia.

the route to Rome; Sena and Ariminum, outposts against the Cisalpines.¹

In Campania the Greeks proved faithful; but Capua, always turbulent, was watched by the colonies of Saticula and Cales; in case of need Casilinum, on a rock at the edge of the Vulturnus and a short distance from Capua, could receive a garrison; Apulia was guarded by Luceria and Venusia, which put on its coins the eagle of Jupiter holding a thunderbolt;



Coin of Brundisium.²



Tumuli at Alsium.³

Calabria, by Brundisium and Valentia; the coast of Lucania by

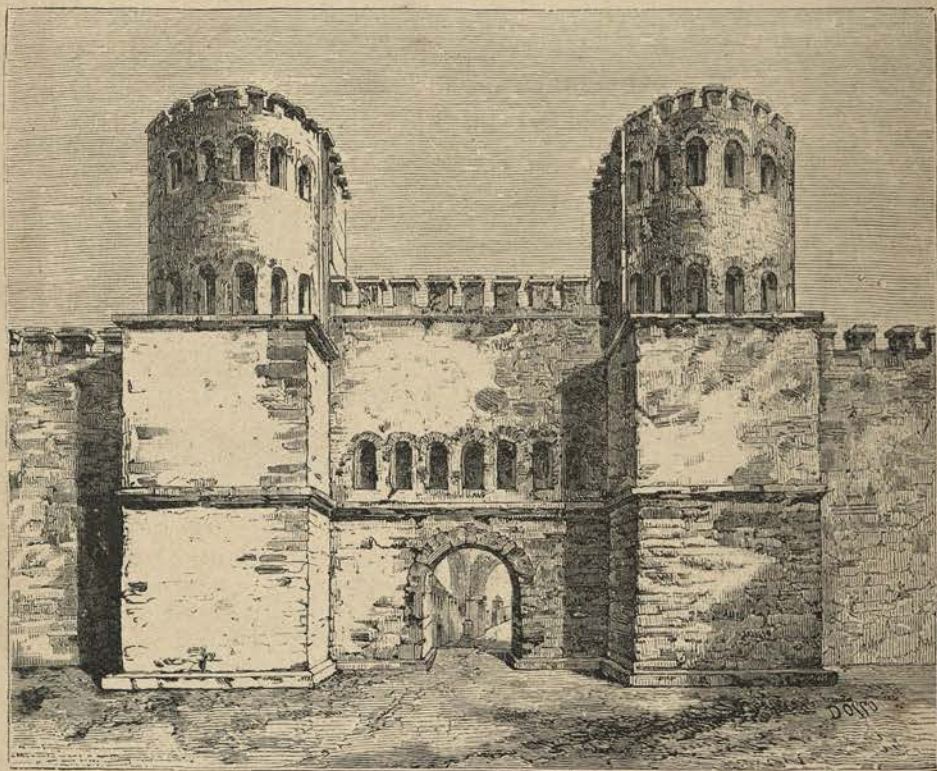
¹ To avoid returning later on to this matter of the colonies I in the case of some go beyond the date which we have reached. Thus Spoletum was colonized only in 240. Several others were founded only during the first Punic war.

² Neptune crowned by a Victory, the trident, and four O's; the mark of the *triens* (see pp. 208-209). On the reverse, BRVN, (Brundisium) and a monogram. Arion on a dolphin and holding in his right hand a Victory. Bronze of Brundisium.

³ Vergil has described, (*Æn.*, xi. 850 *seq.*) this kind of sepulture: "On a mountain arose

Paestum. More to the south, Tarentum, Locri, Rhegium, on the Straits, and some other places had garrisons.

To bind together all these parts, and to transport the legions rapidly to menaced points, great military roads were laid out from one extremity of the peninsula to the other. In the middle of the Samnite war, in 312, the censor Appius had begun the Appian



The Appian Gate (restored).¹

way which led across the Pontine marshes from Rome to Capua. This great example was followed, and from that time the censors employed for works of peace the resources of the treasury. They set with such activity to work, that before the second Punic war the Valerian way traversed Tibur, the colonies of Carseoli and Alba, and reached Corfinium, on the other side of the Apennines; the Aurelian way ran along the coasts of Etruria, and the Flaminian

an immense eminence which an oak covered with its thick shade. It was the tomb of Dercennus, a former king of Laurentum."

¹ Canina, *gli Edifizj di Roma*, pl. 270.

way went from the Campus Martius to Ariminum, *i.e.*, to the entrance of Cisalpine Gaul.

By the Appian and Latin ways Rome had therefore prompt and easy communication with Lower Italy; by the Aurelian and Flaminian ways, with Etruria and Umbria; by the Valerian way, with the country in the midst of the Apennines. The colonies settled on these routes were able, in case of danger, to close them.¹

The genius of a people or an epoch is seen in its architecture. Greece had the Parthenon—supreme elegance and ideal beauty; the Middle Ages, the cathedrals of Rheims and Amiens—the fervent glow of devotion. The architectural glory of the Romans is above all their military roads whose solid network first enlaced Italy, later on, the world. This people did not look upwards; its eyes and hands are fixed on the earth; but no one has held it with a stronger grasp.²

Besides the military colonies sent to the strongest places of

¹ It is true that ancient armies, not carrying heavy artillery, could more easily leave the main roads.

² The following is a list of the seven high roads leading from Rome, to which were attached twenty secondary roads, or branches, from the principal ones. The most important of these can be traced on our special map of the military roads and colonies before the Punic wars. In the following list we give the complete system, so as to avoid returning to this matter.

I. VIA APPIA, from Rome to Capua by the plain, and from Capua to Brundisium. From it branch off the roads—*Setina*, going to Setia; *Domitiana*, which from Sinuessa to Surrentum goes round the Bay of Naples; *Campana* or *Consularis*, from Capua to Cumæ, Puteoli, Atella, and Naples; *Aquillia*, from Capua to Salernum, Pæstum, Cosentia, Vibo, and Rhegium; *Egnatia*, from Beneventum to Herdonea, Canusium, and Brindisi; *Trojana*, from Venusia to Heraclea, Thurium, Crotona, and Rhegium, where it joins the *via Aquillia*; *Minucia*, or *Numicia*, traversing Samnium from north to south.

II. VIA LATINA, from Rome to Beneventum, at the foot of the mountains. It sends a branch to Tusculum, *via Tusculana*, and is connected to the Appian way by a cross road, *via Hadriana*, running from Teanum to Minturnæ. The two roads, Appia and Latina separate at the porta Capena. Between the Latin and Valerian roads run—the *via Labicana*, from the Esquiline gate to Labicum, and joining the *via Latina* at a place called *ad Bivium*, 30 miles from Rome; the *via Prænestina*, or *Gabina*, going off at the same point and joining the Latin road near Anagnina; the *via Collatina*, very short.

III. VIA TIBURTINA, from the porta Tiburtina to Tibur, and continuing, under the name of VIA VALERIA, across the Sabine country to Corfinium, whence it was continued to the Adriatic, which it coasted from Aternum to Castrum Truentinum, where it met the Salarian road. Two branches led—to Sublaqueum, *via Sublacensis*, in the high valley of the Anio and in Apulia; *via Frentana Appula*, along the Adriatic. The *via Nomentana*, or *Ficulnensis*, started from the porta Collina, rejoined at Eretum the Salarian way.

IV. VIA SALARIA, from the Colline gate to Ancona, by Fidenæ, Reate, Asculum, Picenum, Castrum Truentinum to the coast of the Adriatic.

V. VIA FLAMINIA, from the Flaminian gate to Ariminum, by Narnia, Interamna,

Italy, Rome had in the country establishments of another kind, and which helped the same result—the spread of the Latin race over the whole peninsula. The *ager Romanus* stopped at the Vulturnus, but the rest of Italy was covered with lands assigned to the public domain of the Roman people. The Bruttians had ceded half of the Sila forest,¹ the Samnites and the Lucanians who had recognised *the majesty of the Roman people*, the Sabines and Picentines, despoiled by Curius, the Senones, exterminated by Dolabella, had lost more still, and the half perhaps of the best lands of the peninsula had become Roman property. The censors had let them;² and shepherds and Roman labourers, being spread throughout the country, were unceasingly being fused with the Italian populations.

In order to ensure the payment of the tax imposed on the lands of the domain, the senate divided the peninsula into four grand divisions, to which were sent four quæstors, who resided at Ostia and Cales for the provinces which lie towards the Tyrrhenian sea; in Umbria and Calabria for the districts along the Adriatic.³

To the cities of different ranks which we have named are attached the cantons, *pagi*, and the country towns, *vici*, which had their annual magistrates, also the *fora* and *conciliabula*. In the districts where the population was not dense, certain places became the

Spoletum, Fanum Fortunæ, and Pisaurum, on the coast. It was continued under the name of *via Emilia*, which traversed Gallia Cisalpina to Placentia, where it crossed the Po, reached Milan, and from thence ran westward to Turin, to the east as far as Trieste. A cross road, *via Postumia*, went from Genoa to Verona.

VI. VIA CASSIA led across central Etruria, by Veii, Sutrium, Vulsinii, and Arretium to Luna, where it joined the Aurelian way. One of its branches, *via Amerina*, went to Tuder and Perugia; another, *via Clodia*, united Rusellæ and Tarquinii, and the *via Cimina* crossed the mountains of Viterbo, *Ciminus mons*.

VII. VIA AURELIA, leaving Rome by the Janiculum gate, touched Alsium and followed the Etruscan coast to Genoa and Frejus. The *via Portuensis* followed the right bank of the Tiber to Portus Augusti: the *via Ostiensis*, the left bank to Ostia, whence it turned to the south, keeping under the name of *via Severiana*, along the coast to Terracina; the roads *Laurentina* and *Ardeatina* indicate the route by their names.

Thus seven grand roads started from Rome: two, *Appia* and *Latina*, to the south; two, *Valeria* and *Salaria*, to the Adriatic; one, *Flaminia*, to the north-east; two, *Cassia* and *Aurelia*, to the north-west; and the *via Emilia* serves for both banks of the Po. See on this question the classic work of Bergier, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'Empire romain* and the *Table de Peutinger*, ed. Ernest Desjardins.

¹ Dionys., *Excerpta ex libro* xx. 15 (20, 5).

² In many places the Italians were admitted as farmers, and this was one more bond between them and Rome; but that dates, doubtless, from a later period. At the time of the Gracchi, many of them are holders of domain land. (Cic., *de Rep.*, iii. 29.)

³ Livy, *Epit.*, xv.; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 27.

common market place, *forum*, and the point of reunion, *conciliabulum*, of the whole canton.¹ Communities were there formed, which became by degrees *vici*, or even cities; and the nomad shepherd of the Pontine marshes, as well as the mountaineer, whose hut lay hidden in the most retired valleys of the Apennines, was attached to this municipal rule, of which Rome, while respecting it, made an instrument of dominion.

IV.—RELIGIOUS SUPREMACY; ROME GOVERNS AND DOES NOT ADMINISTER.

Religion exercised too great an influence throughout the whole peninsula, for the Romans, while disciplining Italy, to neglect the discipline also of its religions. We have seen² that at Rome they worshipped the protecting divinities of conquered cities; when they left the vanquished their gods, they subjected their priests to the control of Roman priests, who claimed for themselves alone the knowledge of the science of augury. From the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, not a prodigy happened that was not immediately referred by the trembling people to the Roman senate, interpreted by its augurs, and expiated according to their directions.³ By this the local clergy was dispossessed of its principal means of influence, and the Romans held Italy by religion, as they did by policy and arms. Presently we shall find the religious feeling grow weak, and amongst some disappear. Now it was still powerful, and the Romans gave an example of piety. It is computed that from 302 to 290 ten temples were built by them in their city.

The other great nations of antiquity had known well enough how to conquer; not one knew how to preserve its conquests,

¹ The commissioners nominated in the year 211 for the recruiting, go *per fora et conciliabula*. Cf. Livy *pass.* and Festus s.v. These *fora et conciliabula* were places where a rural population, not having a city, transacted their religious or judicial affairs, and held their meetings and markets. I have counted among the ancient cities of Italy more than thirty *fora*, many of whom to this day keep the name: Forli, Forlimpopoli, Fossombrone, etc.

² Page 248, n. 1

³ Livy, xxi. 62: *lectisternium Cære imperatum*: xxii. 1, *decretum est . . . Junoni Lanuvii . . . sacrificaretur. . . Decemviri Ardeæ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt*. Cf. xxxiii. 31. See especially in the next volume the *senatus-consultum* against the Bacchanals.

because none would forget the rights which victory had given them. Under its kings, Rome called strangers into its bosom; now sufficiently peopled, in the mind of the senate, it created Roman citizens outside its walls, and to stimulate zeal, it dangled this showy title before the eyes of all, which raised to the rank of the masters of Italy, which freed from taxes,¹ opened up offices, and called to the distribution of lands, and the enjoyment of the public domain. It is the coin in which she repays all services: precious money, which she divides in order to gain by it a greater number to her cause. Therefore, if it is true that the Roman people, terrible against the strong, and pitiless on the field of battle, carried destruction wherever it found a keen resistance, at least, when war was over, it spontaneously, in the interest of its greatness, raised up the enemy which it had just struck down; it was pleased, as the poet says, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*. Satisfied with having destroyed the political power of its adversaries, it generally respected, in this first period of its conquests, their manners, their laws and their government. It knew that a people could be resigned to the loss of its independence, that is to say, to a confession of its weakness, but never to the contempt of the customs of its ancestors. The centralisation was political, not administrative; and the greater part of the cities preserving their magistrates,² laws, religion, finances, internal police, allowed to confer municipal freedom, to administer criminal and civil procedure,³ in short, to give themselves laws, regarded themselves rather as associated with the splendour of the Roman name than subject to its power. The bustle of their comitia made them believe themselves free. All the living forces of Italy were centralised in the hands of the consuls; the senate disposed of its five hundred thousand soldiers, its cavalry, its navy, and yet political life was not extinguished in the *municipia*; the blood did not leave the extremities to rush to the heart as is the case a century and a half later, when those tempests arise in

¹ See page 393. After the war against Perseus, the citizens had no taxes whatever to pay.

² Even the simple towns: *magistri vici, item magistri pagi quotannis fiunt*. Fest. s.v. *Vicus*.

³ Except for the *municipia optimo jure*. A Roman citizen could, in a criminal matter, be judged only by the whole people, according to the Twelve Tables.

which the republic will founder: We are still in the age of moderation and wisdom.

While giving to Italy the organisation just described, Rome had accomplished all that her municipal constitution permitted, and more than the political wisdom of antiquity taught her. She continued the sovereign city by the right of victory; but she made herself the capital of the Italians by attracting to her senate their most notable citizens. If it is not the representative system in its reality, it was a feeble image of it, and this political genius which anticipated the far off future ought to command our admiration.¹

¹ We have seen at page 322 that the Latins had demanded that the senate should be composed half of Roman senators and half of Latin senators. This idea of a sort of federative republic was very familiar to the Italians of central Italy. We know of an Etruscan diet of Voltumna, the *feriæ Latinæ*, the ancient league of Rome, the Latins and Hernicans. Alexander the Molossian had also formed an amphictyonic council for the Italian Greeks.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERNAL STATE OF ROME DURING THE SAMNITE WAR.

I.—MANNERS.

THIS period has been regarded as the golden age of the republic. According to the old and honourable custom of praising bygone days, all the virtues have been ascribed to the Romans of this period; and virtues they indeed possessed, especially those which make good citizens. The conquerors of the Etruscans and Tarentum did not despise poverty; the plebeians, who had asserted so many rights, accepted all their duties, and their patriotism had the force of a religious feeling. Two Decii gave their life for the Roman army, and Postumius, Manlius each sacrificed a son to discipline. The censor, Rutilius, re-elected on leaving office (266), called together the people, and censured them strongly for having conferred twice in succession on the same citizen those important functions. If Corn. Rufinus, in spite of two consulates, a dictatorship and a triumph, was expelled the senate for his ten pounds of silver plate, when the law permitted only eight ounces;¹ if the consul Postumius forced two thousand legionaries to cut his corn or clear his woods, Atilius Serranus received at the plough the consular purple, as Cincinnatus did formerly the dictatorship. Regulus, after two consulates, possessed only a little field with a single slave, in the sterile territory of Pupiniae, and Curius, with his triumphal hands, like Fabricius and Æmilius Papus, prepared his coarse food in wooden vessels. The same Curius who declared a citizen to be dangerous to whom seven acres were not enough,² refused the gold of the Samnites, Fabricius

¹ Livy, *Ep.*, xiv. Rather perhaps for his plundering. The answer which Fabricius made him (Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 66) represents him as a plunderer.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xviii. 4.

that of Pyrrhus; and Cineas, when introduced to the senate, thought he saw there an assembly of kings.

"At that time," says Valerius Maximus, "there was little or scarcely any money; some slaves, seven acres of poor land, poverty in families, funerals paid for by the State, and daughters without dowry; but illustrious consulates, wonderful dictatorships, innumerable triumphs, such is the picture of these old times!"¹ Let us say more tamely that, thanks to the Licinian law of the limitation of property,² Rome had neither the extreme wealth which sometimes produces insolent pride, nor the extreme poverty which causes the growth of envy and the spirit of revolt. The greatest number was in that happy mean which excites to labour, gives value to a small possession, and puts into the heart the desire of energetically defending it.

This people had its faults; it liked work, but also booty, usury, litigation; it had in its blood the she-wolf's milk. The creditor was hard to the debtor, the father to his son, the master to his slaves, the conqueror to the conquered. They had the limited intelligence of the peasant, who lives with his head bent over the furrow, with the brutal passions of dull natures and the vulgar pride of physical force. There was nothing generous, nothing elevated, save in the very few; neither art, philosophy, nor true religion; as its ideal, gain, and power, which is the political form of covetousness. Was their domestic life more edifying than it is in the sequel? Evil is better seen in the societies which are in full light of day, than in those whose darkness history can hardly penetrate. But there are vices which excess of wealth, the pleasures of a too easy existence and of too numerous temptations, develop: with these the Romans of the fourth century were certainly unacquainted.

They were upright, and kept their plighted word. "Trust," said a later proverb, "a treasure to a Greek, take ten sureties, ten signatures and twenty witnesses: he will rob you." At Rome, a magistrate had in his hands all the public wealth, and, to prevent

¹ Val. Max. IV. iv. 6 and 11. The triumph of Curius introduced, by what Florus says, great riches into the city. Silver was soon so abundant that, three years after the taking of Tarentum, silver coin was struck. Up to that time there had been only *ases* of bronze. Polybius (xviii. 2) still praises the poverty of Paulus Æmilius and of Scipio Æmilianus.

² *Eo anno plerisque dies dicta ab ædilibus, quia plus quam quod lege finitum erat, agri possiderent.* (Livy, x. 13.)

his embezzling it, his oath was sufficient.¹ This good faith of the individual, this probity of the magistrate were the reflection of a more general virtue which existed in the whole body of citizens: absolute respect for law, a spontaneous obedience to established authority, with the right of appeal from an arbitrary order. "The people most jealous of its liberty which the world ever saw, was at the same time the most submissive to its magistrates and to lawful power."² Bossuet was right in bringing together these two ideas, which to so many men are contradictory; it is their union which make citizens truly free, and States really strong.

The Roman is not lovable, but he extorts admiration, because, in that society, if the man is little, the citizen is great. He is so by those civic virtues through which he deserved empire, by the indomitable courage which gave it him, by the discipline, in the best sense of the word, and by the political wisdom which preserved it to him. Thus, his history, in which the poet and artist find so little interest, will be always the proper school of public men.

II.—THE CONSTITUTION; BALANCE OF FORCES.

The dangers of the Samnite wars had restored peace between the two orders. Little rivalries had ceased when the great interest of the public safety was concerned, the political emancipation of the plebeians was fully accomplished, and the new generation of patricians, brought up in camps, had lost the remembrance of the popular victories. The new men were now as numerous in the senate as the descendants of the old families; and the services as well as the glory of Papirius Cursor, Fabius Maximus, Appius Cæcus, and Valerius Corvus, effaced neither the services nor the glory of the two Decii, P. Philo, four times consul, of C. Mænius, twice dictator, of Cæcilius Metellus, who commenced the renown of this family, of whom Nævius is obliged to say: "The Metelli

¹ [This statement may have been often true, but suffered many sad exceptions. There was great corruption among Roman public men later on, and it is not certain that their political morality, when State interests were concerned, was higher than that of Demosthenes. Cf. my *Social Life in Greece*, fourth edition, p. 424.—*Ed.*]

² Bossuet, *Disc. sur l'hist. univ.*, part 3, cap. vi.

are fated consuls at Rome," of Curius Dentatus and Fabricius, who were plebeians not even of Roman descent.

There was union because there was equality, because the aristocracy of blood was no longer known, and because they did not yet know that of riches. At this period the Roman constitution presented the wise combination of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy which Polybius, Machiavelli, and Montesquieu have admired. In the consulate, there was unity in command; in the senate, experience in counsel; in the people, strength in action. These three estates being kept mutually within just limits, all the forces of the State, sometime in opposition, had at last found, after a struggle of more than two centuries, that happy state of equilibrium which made them concur, with irresistible power, towards one common end—the grandeur of the republic.

In the city the consuls¹ were the chiefs of the government; but there were two of them, of different order, and their inevitable rivalry assured the preponderance of the senate, to which they were constrained by their dearest interests to show a prudent deference. They received the ambassadors of foreign nations; they convoked the senate and the people, proposed laws, drew up the *senatus-consulta*, and directed the other magistrates; but all this power, more honourable than real, might break down against the opposition of a colleague or the inviolable authority of the tribunate, against the sovereignty of the people who made the laws, against a decree of the senate, which could annul the power of a consul by causing a dictator to be nominated. In the army the consul seems an absolute chief; he chooses a part of the legionary tribunes, fixes the contingents of the allies, and exercises over all the right of life and death; but without the senate he has neither victuals, clothes, nor pay, and a *senatus-consultum* can suddenly stop his enterprises, give him a successor, suspend him from his command, grant or refuse him a triumph.² He makes treaties, but the people ratify them or reject them. He acts, he decrees, but the tribunes watch him, and by their veto stop him, by their right of accusation keep

¹ *Apropos* of consuls, Cicero utters the celebrated but dangerous maxim: *ollis salus populi suprema lex esto*. It was an indirect vindication of his own consulate.

² It was the senate that authorized the consul to borrow from the treasury the amount necessary for covering the expense of this solemnity. (Polyb., vi. 5.)

him in a continual suspense. Lastly, when his term of office has expired he must render an account to the people to receive their plaudits, which promised him fresh offices, or reproaches and murmurs, which for ever closed against him entrance to high office—sometimes even a penalty which ruined and dishonoured him.¹

Subjects, allies, and foreign sovereigns, who never treated with the senate but when assembled in the temple of Bellona to remind them that Rome was always prepared for war,² who saw it settling their differences, replying to their deputies, sending amongst them commissioners, and granting or refusing the triumph to the generals who had conquered them, looked on this body as the mistress of the republic.³ Even at Rome the senators, appearing always clothed in the royal purple; holding their sittings in the temples; discussing important affairs—the plans of generals and the government of conquered countries; able to adjourn the assemblies of the people or pass decrees having the force of law;⁴ receiving the reports of the censors and quæstors; authorizing outlays, public works, and alienations of the domain lands; watching over the conservation of the religion of the State, the prosecution of public crimes, the celebration of games and solemn sacrifices; finally, decreeing, in case of peril, supplications to the gods after victory, acts of thanksgiving, and regulating even the affairs of heaven by giving the freedom of the city and of temples to foreign divinities—the senators, I say, seem to be the chiefs in the State by the extent of their public rights as they were by their dignity and the respect which was attached to their name. But, subjected to the irresponsible control of the censors, the senate is still presided over by

¹ Postumius, on quitting office, was condemned to pay 500,000 *ases* (Livy, *Epitome*, xi.). Camillus narrowly escaped being fined the same amount.

² This temple, vowed by Appius in 296 (Livy, x. 19, and Pliny, xxxv. 3) was built outside the city, in the Field of Mars. The senate met there to receive foreign ambassadors and the consuls who asked of it a triumph. At the entrance of this temple was the column which the fœtal struck with a javelin when the enemy was too distant to permit him to declare war from the Roman people. (See page 108.)

³ In England also the people are little concerned with foreign affairs, the direction of which they generally leave to the ministry.

⁴ Montesq., *Espr. des Lois*, v. 8. Legally the legislative power of the senate was exercised only in matters of administration. But the limit was very difficult to fix, and more than one *senatus-consultum* trespassed on the territory of the law. The senate later on took the right of giving dispensation from keeping the laws (Cic., *pro lege Man.*, 21). On the formalities followed for drawing up a *senatus-consultum*, see Foucart. *Mém. sur un senatus-cons., inédit de l'an 170.*

the consuls, who direct its deliberations as they please. Should they be agreed, yet would it not be possible, without the consent of the tribunes, either to assemble or pass a decree; and the legislative omnipotence of the people places the senate in dependence on the centuries and tribes. All its members are, besides, indirectly nominated by the people, since it is they who raise to office, and it is by office that the senate is attained.¹

With us the executive can be questioned respecting its acts as soon as they are done; for some even before execution, and this can stop them. At Rome the magistrate renders an account only after the expiration of his magistracy. He is inviolable, sacrosanct,² and yields only to the interference of a colleague, the veto of a tribune, or that of the augurs. Nor can he be proceeded against, even for a crime in common law.

The people, the highest jury,³ an electoral and legislative body⁴—in a word, the true sovereign in the Forum, finds in the civil tribunals senators as judges, in the army consuls as generals; the former armed with the authority of the laws and of that discretionary power which an uncertain and obscure legislation gives, the latter with a discipline which commands a blind obedience. The plebeian will avoid offending those who could be avenged on

¹ We shall see later how Fabius Buteo filled up the senate after Cannæ. So also the senators are often represented as chosen by the people (Livy, iv. 4; Cic., *pro Sextio*, 65; *pro Cluent.*, 56). In *de Legibus* (iii. 3) Cicero says the senate must be composed of all the former magistrates, and Sylla passed a law in this sense. Yet the censors could inscribe on their list any whom they pleased, but the *lex Ovinia* (p. 280) obliged them to summon former magistrates first. This it is which made the senate so experienced an assembly.

² Livy, ix. 9. The prætor Lentulus, an accomplice of Catiline, could only be proceeded against after he had abdicated his office. (Cic., *Catil.*, iii. 6.)

³ At the head of the Roman constitution Cicero (*de Leg.*, iii. 3) puts the precious right of appeal [like our *Habeas corpus*.—*Ed.*].

⁴ The people assembled by tribes *nominated* the tribunes, ædiles, quaestors, a part of the legionary tribunes, the chiefs of colonies, the commissioners for the agrarian laws, the *duumviri maritimi* (Aul. Gell., xiii. 15; Livy, vii. 5, ix. 30). It deliberated in the *conciones* and voted in the assembly of the tribes (*plebiscitum*) on the propositions of the tribunes, which sometimes referred to the gravest interests of the State: on the granting the freedom of the city (Livy, xxxviii. 36); on the powers of magistrates (Livy, xxii. 25, 26, 30). Flaminius brought his agrarian law to their vote. They had also a judicial power (Livy, xxvi. 3, 4; App., *Bell. Civ.*, i. 31). In the comitia centuriata the people as a legislative power made laws, decided peace and war, ratified treaties, and received the accounts of the magistrates; as an electoral body it nominated to the leading offices; as supreme tribunal it received appeals from all the courts, pronounced on the life of citizens, on the crime of high treason (Livy, vi. 20, xxvi. 3; Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 4, 19; *pro Sext.*, 44, 51). But we know that in these assemblies the rich and the high class easily predominate, and that the multitude is reduced to an unimportant part.

him as suitor or legionary for his hostile votes as citizen. In the comitia even, where the people is supreme, nothing is left to the hazard of the moment. The magistrate who calls together the assembly limits the debate; he asks either a Yes or a No; he allows no debate, and the people reply, *uti rogas* [as you propose], for approval, *antiquo* [I am for the old], for rejection. We should say now that the assembly had neither the right of amendment nor question. Discussion took place only in the *conciones*, a sort of preparatory assemblies, where no voting took place. If, nevertheless, the sovereign people consented to make a sovereign act, it could be stopped by a double veto; in the *comitia tributa* by that of the tribunes; in the centuries by that of the gods expressed by the augurs. Finally, a number of citizens, above all the wealthiest farmers of the domains, public works, and the collecting of imposts, were still dependent on the senate and censors, who accept bids, make reductions, postpone the rent day, or break leases.¹

There were none, even to the poorest, who had not their days of royalty. On the eve of the comitia the patrician sinks his nobility to mix with the crowd; to caress these kings of a few hours who give place, power, and glory. He takes the hard palm of the peasant, calls the most obscure Quirite by his name,² and, later on, he will restore to the people for one election all that he and his fathers have saved out of the pillage of many provinces. Canvassing, which a century later was punished as producing venality, tended as yet only to draw the rich and poor together, and to give a lesson in equality to the great.

"Every body in the State," says Polybius, "may, therefore, damage another or serve it; hence arises their harmony and the invincible strength of the republic."

A moral power, the censorship, itself irresponsible and unlimited in its rights, watched over the maintenance of this

¹ Polyb. vi. 7, 11. I could have quoted him for almost every detail of this picture of the Roman constitution. When we compare it with that which Cicero has drawn in his treatise *de Legibus* (iii. 3), we see that the former was written by a statesman, the latter by a jurist-consult and a philosopher, who, in the first book at least, is preoccupied with a matter for which ancient Rome had no thought—natural law.

² Cf. Livy, *passim*; Plutarch, in the Life of Coriolanus, and the curious book of Quintus Cicero, *On the Candidature for the Consulate*. [The author might have cited the canvassing of great English nobles at parliamentary elections, especially before the introduction of the ballot.—*Ed.*]

equilibrium. In oriental legislations, the principal preservative of the constitution is religious sentiment, for law is only the expression of the divine will. In Greece and at Rome, Lycurgus and Numa also gave to their laws the sanction of the gods. But Solon and the Romans of the republic, further removed from the sacerdotal period, confided to men this conserving power: Solon to the Areopagus, the Roman constitution to the censors. At Athens the Areopagus, a sort of tribunal placed outside the executive, was never sufficiently strong to exercise a useful in-



Suovetaurilia.¹

fluence;² at Rome the censorship, charged with very important material interests, was an active magistracy, the political importance grew and asserted a moral authority.³ Those details which no law could anticipate, those innovations which silently unsettle republics by destroying equality, the censors knew how to reach and punish. They often expelled powerful citizens from the senate or the

¹ Bas-relief from the Louvre, showing the ceremony of the *suovetaurilia*. Before the altar, the magistrate standing with veiled head, performed the functions of sacrificer; near him are two assistants or *camilli* carrying, the one the *acerra*, or incense box, the other the vase of libations, *guttus*; behind are the two lictors of the magistrate with their fasces; next come the *victimarii* crowned with laurel, leading the victims, or preparing to strike them: lastly, on the second slab, are seen some assistants at the ceremony. See page 111.

² [I think the influence of the Athenian Areopagus is underrated by the author.—Ed.]

³ *Censores populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento: urbis tecta, templa, vias, aquas, ærarium, vectigalia tuento, populique partes in tribus describunto, exin pecunias, ævitates, ordines partiunto, equitum peditumque prolem describunto, cælibes esse prohibento, mores populi regunto, probrum in senatu ne reliquinto, Bini sunt.* (Cic. de Leg. iii. 3.)

equestrian order or deprived them of their political rights, and in the re-partition of classes "they exercised legislation even over the body which had the legislative power,"¹ and they placed their acts under the sanction of religion, by offering at the closing of the census the solemn sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia*. By their uncontrolled power they came to the aid of the executive power always so weak in democracies.

In every State it is a grave question to know in whose hand the judicial power should be placed. This question troubled the last century of the Roman republic; in anterior periods it had received an original solution. The consul, and then the prætor, did not himself judge. For each case he gave the rule of law, which ought to be applied, and the judges [jury] appointed by him, with the agreement of the parties, decided the question of fact. Thus the process was double, *in jure* before the prætor, *in judicio* before the judges [jury]. For important causes the judges were chosen in the senate; for less important matters from the body of centumvirs selected to the number of three by each of the thirty-five tribes. Thus, the organisation of civil justice was, in some respects, that which we have for criminal justice; the magistrate declared the application of the law, and judges or jurors pronounced on the point of fact.

Criminal justice was exercised by the people. Whoever had violated the public peace, was amenable to the sovereign assembly, which also received appeals brought against the decisions of the magistrates; the latter, in virtue of their duty to make the law respected, punished offences, a certain number of which would be regarded by us as crimes. The chastisement was the rod for the lower classes; for the others, a fine. The consuls and prætors had, besides, preserved from royalty the right of nominating, for grave and pressing cases, criminal quæstors, an exceptional jurisdiction which became permanent, *questiones perpetuæ*. However, criminal justice was rarely exercised, for domestic justice dealt with the crimes of the slave, of the son, if he were not emancipated, and of the wife *in manu*. The master, the father and the husband pronounced in the interior of the house the sentence, and had it

¹ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, Bk. xi. cap. xvi.

executed. There was not then, at the period of Roman history now reached, a body of citizens who were invested with judicial authority, and who, thanks to that privilege, could menace the liberty of the other classes. Justice was, therefore, now equal to all; in a century it was so no more.

This so well balanced constitution, however, exposed the State to some great perils. It was not written down; and the rights of the assemblies or the magistrates having never been clearly defined, it could happen that the different jurisdictions should clash, and hence cause disturbance; or that one, aided by circumstances, should gain a dangerous preponderance in the State. Thus, Hortensius had given an equal authority to the decisions of senate and of people. Let these two powers clash, and there is no legal force in the State, if it be not the violent and temporary remedy provided by the dictatorship, which could end this struggle without collisions. But the prudence of the senate knew how, during a century and a half, to evade this danger. It caused a division to be made between itself and the people of the matters respecting which legislative omnipotence should be exercised. To the people fell the elections and the laws of internal organisation; to the senate, the administration of finance and foreign affairs; to the magistrates, the unlimited rights of the *imperium* for the exercise of the executive power.

Then, too, if this people was continually urged on by new wants, it was constantly also held in check by its respect for ancient times. As long as Rome remained herself, she had, like the image of her god Janus, her eyes turned at the same time towards the present and the past. The custom of ancestors, *mos majorum*, preserved an authority which often permitted the supplementing or evading of the written law, and this authority of custom was a powerful principle of social conservation.

III.—MILITARY ORGANISATION.

Abroad, this government was protected by the best armies yet known. No adversary, no enterprise could affright the conquerors of the Samnites and Pyrrhus. They had triumphed over

all enemies and obstacles; over Greek tactics¹ as well as Gallic dash and Samnite obstinacy; the elephants of Pyrrhus had astonished them only once.² Surrounded by enemies, the Romans had, for three quarters of a century, known no other art than war, no other exercise than arms. They were not only the bravest soldiers, the best disciplined in Italy, but the most active and strong. The average military march was 24 millia in 5 hours (nearly 3 miles per hour), and during these marches they carried their arms, rations for five days, stakes for encamping—in all, at least 60 Roman pounds.

In the intervals between the campaigns drill was continued in the Field of Mars. They shot javelins and arrows, fought with the sword, ran and leaped in full armour, or crossed the Tiber swimming, employing for these exercises arms of a weight double that of ordinary arms. The noblest citizens took part in these games; consuls, those who had triumphed, contended in strength, address, and agility, showing to this people of soldiers that the generals had also the qualities of the legionary.

All other powers fought at that time with mercenaries; Rome alone had a national army, from which the foreigner, the freedman, the proletary were excluded, and which had already established that devotion to the colours which has wrought such miracles.

All the wealthy citizens had to pass through this rude school of discipline, devotion, and self-denial. No one, says Polybius, can be elected to a magistracy who has not been in ten campaigns.

¹ The Macedonian phalanx had its force merely from impetus; barbarian armies from the individual courage of their soldiers. In the one the individual was nothing, and the mass everything; in the others, the mass nothing, the individual everything. The legion, by its division into maniples, left full swing to individual courage and preserved full action to the mass. Hannibal himself did homage to the organization of the Roman armies by arming his veterans like the legionaries. (Polyb., xviii. II.) [The power of the phalanx is, perhaps, underrated here. As a formation, like the modern column, intended to break the old extended lines, it was most effective, and it was superior to the Roman order of battle when they met on even ground. But the difficulty of marching it through any rough or uneven ground made it often useless, and so it was that Alexander never won a battle with his phalanx, but always used it as the *defensive* arm of his line of battle, the cavalry and light footguards being the offensive. At the very time of his death he was devising means to make the phalanx more serviceable, and resolvable into smaller and more active subdivisions when need arose.—*Ed.*]

² It has always been said that Pyrrhus taught the Romans how to pitch a camp. The description of Polybius makes one think of the *urbs quadrata* of the Etruscans, and he himself contrasts the regularity of a Roman camp to the confusion which prevailed in a Greek one.

³ On the return from every campaign the standards were placed in the *ærarium*.

To what an extent must this law have raised the dignity and force of the army!

We have just followed the Romans to the senate and Forum; we have shown their public as well as their private life. This study would be incomplete if we did not see them in camp. Military organization is for all peoples a very serious matter. Without soldiers formed in the gymnasia of Greece, the Persians had been conquerors at Marathon and Plataea; without the phalanx of Philip, Alexander had not set out from Macedonia; without the legion, Italy, and the world would have been given up to the barbarians before that civilization could have taken such root so not to be entirely extirpated. The picture of the Roman army necessarily, therefore, forms part of Rome's history, and to trace it we have only to abridge, while supplementing it in some points, the account by Polybius, who, if not a great writer, was the most intelligent observer of antiquity.²

After the election of the consuls, 24 tribunes, always of senatorial or equestrian order, were nominated, 16 by the people, 8 by the consuls, for the annual levy, which is usually of four legions.³ They were chosen in such a way that 14 of them were selected from those who had at least served five years. And that was easy, since all the citizens were obliged, up to forty-six years, to carry arms, either ten years in the cavalry or sixteen years in the



Roman Soldier.¹

¹ Taken from the work of M. Lindenschmidt, Keeper of the Museum of Antiquities of Mayence, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*.

² Fragment of book, vi. 19-42.

³ In 207, the levy being of 23 legions, the comitia nominated the twenty-four tribunes of the first four legions; the consuls designated all the others. (Livy, xxvii. 36.)

infantry. Only those were excepted whose property did not exceed 400 drachmæ, and who were reserved for the navy. When necessity arose even they were taken for the infantry, and then their military obligation was twenty years' service.

Each legion has 6 tribunes, who command the legion by turns for two months under the superior orders of the consul, and care is taken that this body of officers is made up in almost equal proportions of young and veteran tribunes.



Roman Soldier.¹

When there is need to make a levy, ordinarily of four legions, all Romans of age to bear arms are summoned to the Capitol. There the military tribunes draw the tribes by lot and choose in the first four men equal, as far as possible, in height, age, and strength. The tribunes of the first legion make their choice first, then those of the second, and so of the rest. After these four other citizens come forward; it is then the tribunes of the second legion who make their choice the first; those of the third afterwards; and so of the rest. The same order is observed till the finish, whence the result

is that each legion is made up of men of the same age and strength, generally to the number of four thousand two hundred, and of five thousand when danger presses.² In respect of the horse the censor selects them according to the state of the revenue, three hundred to each legion. When the levy is over the tribunes assemble their legion, and, choosing one of the bravest, they make him swear that he will obey the orders of the chiefs and do all he can to carry them out. The others, passing in turn before the tribune, take the same oath by pronouncing the words, *Idem in me*. It was equivalent to our formula, *I swear it*.³

¹ Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*

² According to Livy (viii. 8) five thousand was the regular number later on; it reached six thousand. (Cf. Livy, xlii. 31; and Suidas, s. v. λεγιών εξακισχίλιοι.)

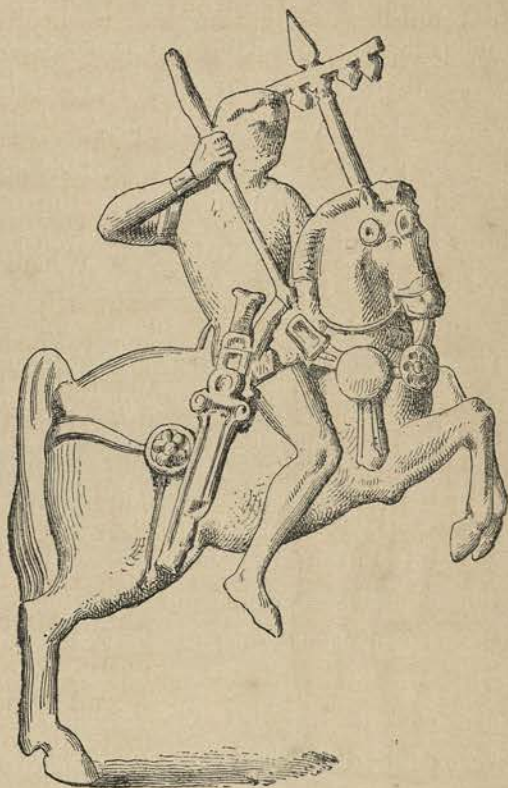
³ This oath was called *sacramentum*, because he who took it became cursed or devoted to

"At the same time the consuls gave information to the cities of Italy, whence they wish to draw auxiliaries, as to the number of men they acquire, the day, and place of assembly. The levy takes place in these cities as at Rome, the same order, the same oath. A chief and quæstor is given to these troops, and they are marched off.

"The tribunes, after administering the oath, inform the legions of the day and place where they must assemble without arms, then he dismisses them. When assembled on the day fixed, of the youngest and poorest the *velites* were formed; those who followed them in age formed the *hastati*; the strongest and most vigorous composed the *principes*; and the oldest were taken to form the *triarii*. Thus each legion was composed of four sorts of soldiers, who differed in name, age, and arms; 600 *triarii*, 1,200 *principes*, as many *hastati*—the rest formed the *velites*.

"The *velites* were armed with a helmet without crest, a sword, a round buckler, 3 feet in diameter, several javelins, the wood of which was 2 cubits long and an inch thick. The point, 9 inches long,² is so tapering that at the first stroke it warps, so that the enemy is unable to use it.³

"The *hastati* have complete armour, that is to say, a convex



Roman Horse-soldier.¹

the infernal gods if he broke it. Seneca says, too: *primum militiæ vinculum est religio et signorum amor et deserendi nefas.* (*Ep.*, 95.)

¹ Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*

² The Greek foot=1 ft. 0.135 in.; the digitus=.7584 in.; the spithame=9.10125 in.; the cubit=1 ft. 6.2025 in.

³ Livy, xxvi. 4, says that the *velites* each had seven of these darts.

buckler, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and 4 long. It is made of two planks glued together, and covered outside with linen, then with calf-skin. The edges of this buckler above and below are mounted with iron, and the convex part is covered with a plate of the same metal, to ward off darts sent with great force. The *hastati* carry their sword on the right thigh; the blade is strong, and strikes both cut and thrust.¹ They have, besides, two *pila*, a bronze casque and buskins. One of these two javelins is round or square, and 4 digits thick; the other is lighter, but the staff of both is 3 cubits long, and the iron as much.² On their helmet is a red or black plume, formed of three straight feathers, a cubit high, a thing which makes them appear taller and more formidable. The poorest soldiers wear, besides, on the breast a plate of bronze, which is 12 digits in diameter. But those whose wealth exceeds 10,000 drachmas have, instead of this breastplate, a coat of mail. The *principes* and *triarii* have the same arms, only the latter have but one lance (*hasta* or *δόρυ*).

"In each of these three bodies they select—putting aside the youngest—twenty of the most prudent and brave, to make them centurions. The first chosen has a voice in the council. There are twenty other officers of an inferior rank, *optiones*, who are chosen by the first twenty to lead the rear-guard. Each corps is divided into ten *maniples*,³ with the exception of the *velites*, which are divided in equal numbers among the three

¹ This sword of which Polybius speaks was the Spanish sword, adopted by the Romans during the second Punic war, just as they must have taken the *pilum* from the Etruscans. There has been found at Vulci, among some old Etruscan arms, an iron *pilum* head.

² That would make 6 cubits or 9 feet, but as a part of the iron entered the wood, where it was fastened by a socket, the *pilum* was somewhat shorter. Polybius makes it also too heavy for the thickness which he gives it, unless he meant the *pilum murale*, which played the part of our siege muskets, which are much larger than the ordinary musket. We shall see the changes made by Marius and Cæsar in the *pilum*, the arm with which the Romans conquered the world.

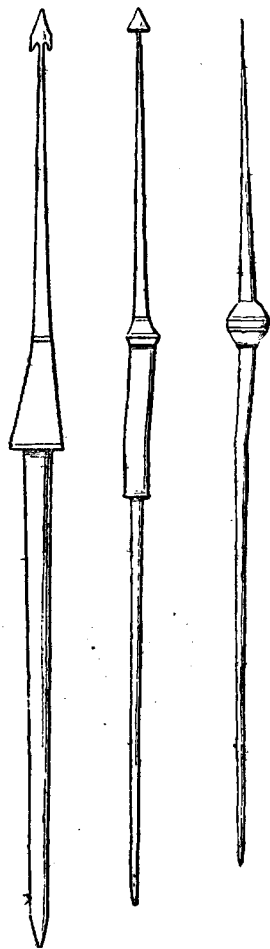
³ The legion had then thirty *maniples* divided into two *centuries*, each commanded by a centurion, so that there were sixty of these officers to a legion. The *centurio prior* commanded the first *maniple*, and was placed at the head of the right wing; the *centurio posterior* served as his lieutenant, if needful, took his place, and had his place in battle at the left wing. The distinctive sign of the centurion was a vine stock with which he might strike the soldiers; the allies, in case of fault, were beaten with rods: *quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, fustibus cecidit.* (Livy, *Ep.* lvii.) A cohort was the union of a *maniple* of *hastati*, with another of *principes*, and a third of *triarii*, each with the *velites* which belonged to them. The cohort was therefore the reduction to the tenth of the whole legion. (Cincius, ap. Aul. Gell. xvi. 4.)

other corps. The centurions choose in their companies two of the strongest and bravest men to carry the standards, *vexillarii*, *signiferi*.¹

"The cavalry is divided in the same manner into ten companies or *turmæ*, each of them has three officers, of whom the first nominated commands the whole company; these officers choose three others of a lower rank to control the rear ranks. The arms of the cavalry are a cuirass, a solid buckler, and a strong lance with iron at its butt, in order that it might still be used when its point was broken.²

"After the tribunes had thus divided the troops, and given the necessary orders for arms, they dismissed the assembly until the day on which the soldiers have sworn to rejoin. Nothing can release them from their oath except the auspices or insurmountable difficulties. Each consul appoints a separate meeting for the troops intended for him, generally the half of the auxiliary allies and two Roman legions. When the allies have joined, twelve officers chosen by the consuls, and who are styled prefects, are charged with regulating their distribution. They put on one side the best formed and bravest men for the cavalry and infantry, which are to form the consul's bodyguard. These are styled the *extraordinarii*. The prefects divide the rest into two corps, one of which is called the right wing and the other the left wing.

On the field of battle the legion formed three lines; in the first, the *hastati*; in the second, the *principes*; in the third, the *triarii*, all divided into six maniples, in ranks of 20 in front and



The *Pilum*.³

¹ Before Marius the Romans put the image of the wolf on their standards. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 4.)

² The cavalry did not use stirrups, and practised vaulting on horseback fully armed. (Vég., i. 17.)

³ De Reffye, *Les Armes d'Alise*, 1864, p. 339.

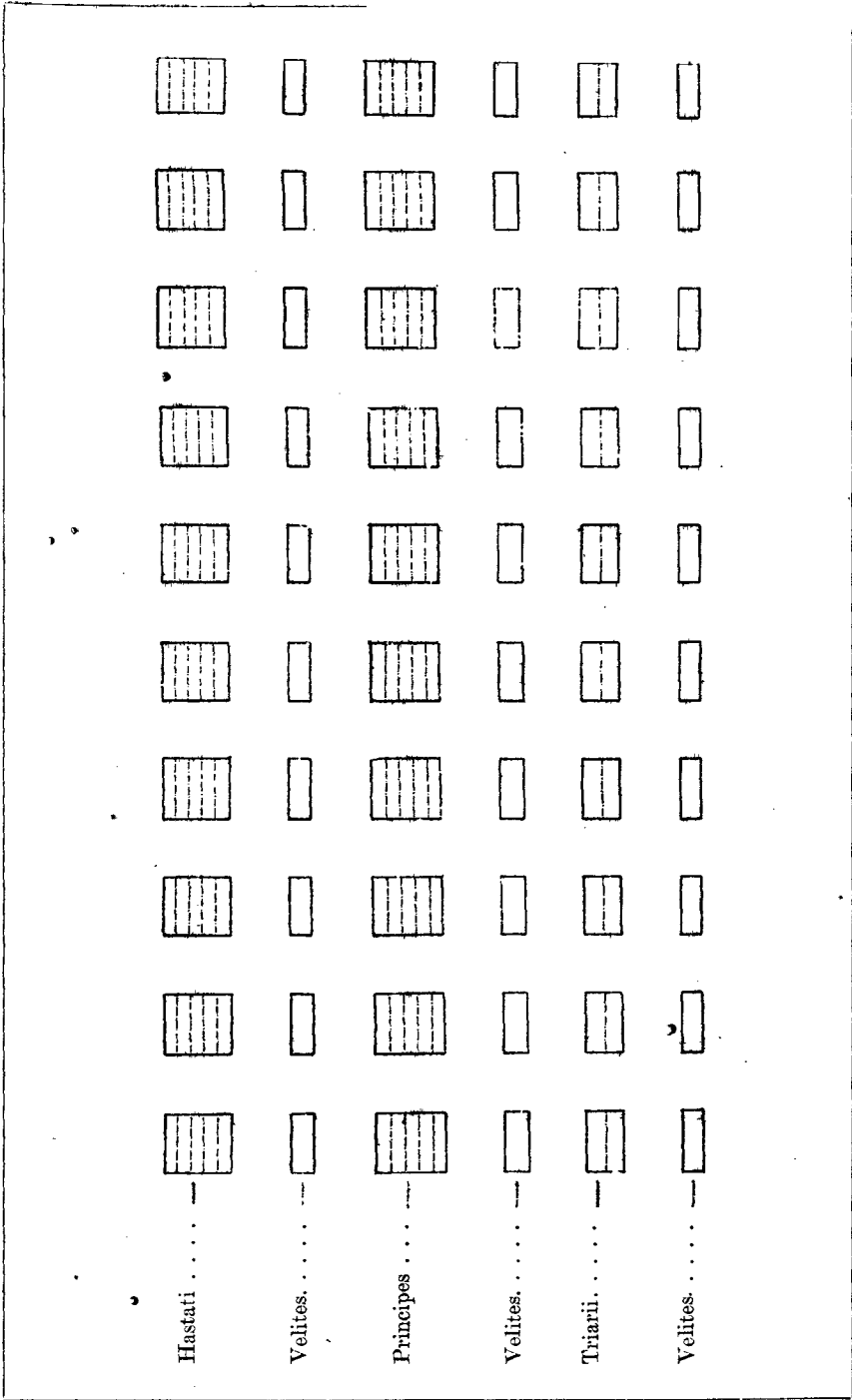
6 deep. In close order, *confertis ordinibus*, the soldiers were stationed 3 feet apart, in every direction, so as to have enough space for using their arms. A similar interval separated the ten maniples of each line, so that the front of a legion in battle array was about 617 yards, without counting the space reserved for the cavalry, which the general generally placed at the wings, and which took up a space of nearly 5 feet for each horse. In extended order, *laxatis ordinibus*, the soldiers were separated from one another by an interval of 6 feet, which doubled the line of front.

To each maniple of *hastati* and *principes* were joined forty *velites*, who formed behind the heavy infantry a sixth and seventh rank of light troops. The *velites* passed through the intervals to commence the action as skirmishers, re-entered again when the *hastati* closed with the enemy, or formed with them, if they could still hurl their darts to advantage against the enemy. The Romans did not employ slingers and archers till later. If the *hastati* gave way, they retired by the intervals between the *principes* in their rear, and while the latter fought, the *triarii*, kneeling and protected by their bucklers, waited the moment for coming into action.

The position for the camp is chosen with great care. When once the site has been laid out, the spot is selected from whence the general can most easily see everything, and there they fix a standard. Around, they measure off a square space, each side of which is distant a hundred feet from the standard; this is the *prætorium*. To the left and right of the *prætorium* are the *forum*, or market, and the *quæstorium*, i.e., the treasury and arsenal. The legions are stationed on the side which is most convenient for getting water and forage. The twelve tribunes, if there are only two legions, are lodged in a right line, parallel to the *prætorium*, and at a distance of 50 feet, their tents facing the troops, which are set up a 100 feet further off, in a line also parallel.¹ The annexed plan will show the general arrangement.

The widest intervals are 100 feet, the main ways (*principalis*, Quintana) were 50 feet wide.

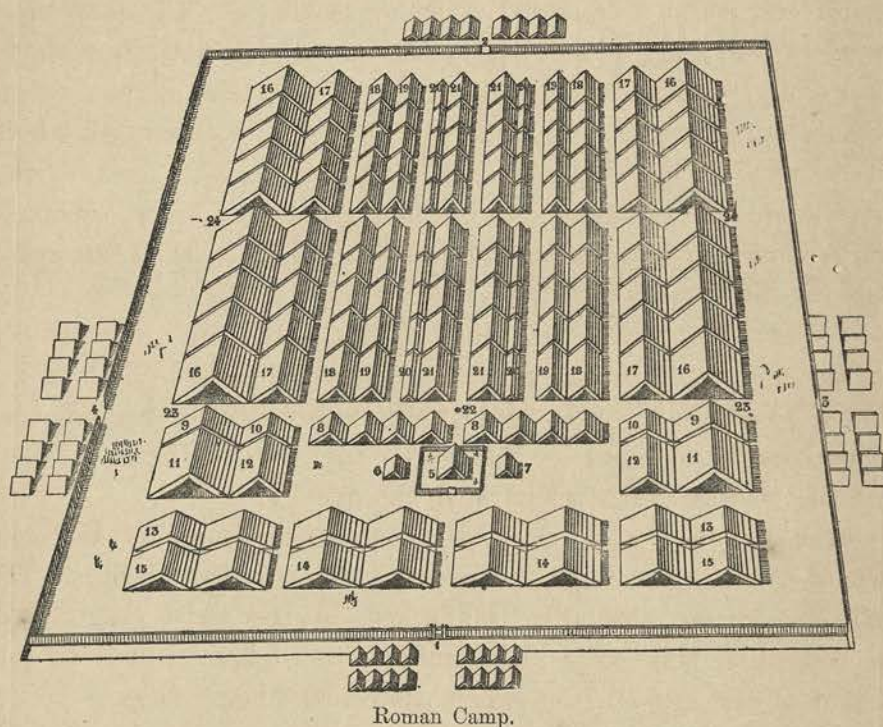
¹ The tents, made of skins, upheld by poles; each hold ten men. [For further details of the arrangement of the troops see the plan.]



Plan of the Order of Battle.

"From the entrenchment¹ to the tents there is a distance of 200 feet; this space serves to facilitate the entrance and departure of the troops. Cattle and whatever may be taken from the enemy are also put there. Another considerable advantage is that in night attacks neither fire nor dart can easily reach the tents.

"If it happen that four legions and two consuls camp together the arrangement is the same for each army, only we must



- | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Porta praetoria. | 7. Quæstorium. | 13. Equites extraord. | 19. Principes |
| 2. Porta decumana. | 8. Tribuni. | 14. Pedites extraord. | 20. Triarii. |
| 3. Porta dextra. | 9. Præfecti sociorum. | 15. Auxilia. | 21. Equites Romani. |
| 4. Porta sinistra. | 10. Legati. | 16. Pedites sociorum. | 22. Ara. |
| 5. Prætorium. | 11. Pedites delecti. | 17. Equites sociorum. | 23. Via Principalis. |
| 6. Forum. | 12. Equites delecti. | 18. Hastati. | 24. Via Quintana. |

imagine two armies turned towards one another, and joined where the *extraordinarii* of both are placed, that is to say, by the rear of the camp, and the latter then forms an oblong, covering a space double the first.

¹ The camp was defended by a ditch 9, 11, 12, 13, or 17 feet broad, and 8 or 9 deep. The earth which was dug up was thrown inside the camp in such a way as to form an embankment 4 feet high, on which were fixed palisading strongly interlaced. The sutlers and servants encamped outside the gates in the *procestria*.

“When once the camp is arranged the tribunes receive the oath from all, whether free or slaves, that they will not steal anything in the camp, and that if they find anything they will bring it to the prætorium. Then two maniples, made up of equal numbers of principes and hastati from each legion, are set to guard the place which extends in front of the tribunes’ tents, and which the soldiers occupy during the day. The tent and baggage of each tribune are, besides, guarded by four soldiers. These maniples, drawn by lot from among the principes and hastati, furnish this guard daily, which is also intended to exalt the dignity of the tribunes. The triarii, exempt from this service, guard the horses for the squadron placed behind them. They have to prevent these horses from getting entangled in their halters or from causing by their escape any tumult in the camp. A maniple is always on guard at the consul’s tent.

“The allies make two sides of the ditch and entrenchment, the Romans the two others, one by each legion. Each side is allotted to parties, according to the number of the maniples, and for each party a centurion supervises the work; when the side is finished two tribunes examine and approve it.

The tribunes were charged with the discipline of the camp. Two of them commanded in turn together for two months. This duty was among the allies performed by the præfecti. At day the centurions waited at the tents of the tribunes, and the latter at that of the consul, from whom they took their orders.

The watchword for the night was given in the following manner: a soldier, exempted from all other guards, was chosen among the turnæ of cavalry and the maniples of infantry which had their tents in the last line. Every day, a little before sunset, the soldier betook himself to the tribune’s tent and there received the watchword, which was written on a little piece of wood, and then returned to his company. His officer carried it with some witnesses to the officer of the next company, and the latter gave it to the centurion, who is his next neighbour, and so on, until the watchword, having passed through all the maniples, is returned to the tribunes before night.

“A whole maniple guards the prætorium during the night. The tribunes and the horses are also guarded by sentries, who are

taken from the maniples. Ordinarily three sentries are given to the quæstor. The guard of each corps is taken from the corps itself. The exterior sides are confided to the care of the velites, who during the day mount guard along the entrenchment; there are, besides, ten at each gate of the camp.

“The cavalry make the rounds. It is the first maniple of the triarii, whose centurion is charged to sound the trumpet at every hour when the guard must be mounted. The signal given, the horseman on whom the first guard has fallen makes the round, accompanied by some friends whom he uses as witnesses, and he visits not only the guards posted on the entrenchment and at the gates, but also all those who are at each company of foot and horse. If he finds the sentinels of the first watch on the alert he receives from them a small piece of wood, on which is written the name of the legion, the number of the maniple and century of which the soldiers on guard make part. If any one is asleep or absent he calls to witness those who accompanied him, and retires. The other rounds are made in a similar way. At each watch they sound the trumpet, so that those who have to make the round and those who form the guard may be warned at the same time.

“Those who have made the round, carry, as soon as the morning breaks, the little pieces of wood which they have received to the tribune. If they bring less than the number of guards, the writing on each of them is examined; whatever guard has not been found at its post, and the centurion and men who formed the guard, are called to confront him who made the round, who produces his witnesses, without which he alone bears all the penalty. Immediately a court-martial is called. The tribunes judge, and the guilty one has to run the gauntlet.

“This punishment is thus inflicted: the tribune taking a small rod simply touches the criminal, and immediately all the legionaries fall upon him with blows from sticks and stones in such a way, that he frequently loses his life during the punishment. If he do not die, he remains marked with infamy. He is not allowed to return to his native land, and no relation or friend of his would dare to open his house to him. So severe a punishment causes the discipline as regards the night watches to be always exactly observed. The same punishment is inflicted on

those who steal in the camp, who give false witness, or have been caught three times in the same fault. There are also marks of infamy for any one who boasts falsely to the tribunes of an exploit, who abandons his post, or throws away his arms during battle. So that from the fear of being punished or dishonoured, the soldiers brave all perils.¹

“Should it happen that whole maniples have been driven from their post, the tribune assembles the legion; the guilty are brought forward; he makes them draw lots, and all who produce the numbers 10, 20, 30, etc., are made to run the gauntlet. The rest are condemned to receive barley in place of wheat, and to camp outside the rampart, at the risk of being carried off by the enemy. This is called *decimating*. When soldiers, on the contrary, distinguish themselves, whether in single combat with the permission of the general, or in a skirmish where the officer imposes no obligation of fighting, the consul parades the legion, calls out the soldiers, and having first bestowed great praises on them, makes a present of a lance to him who has wounded the enemy, of a cup or a breastplate if he has killed and despoiled him.

“After the capture of a city, those who first scaled the wall receive a golden crown.² There are also rewards for the soldiers who save citizens or allies. Those who have been delivered themselves crown their liberator. They owe them during their whole life filial respect, and all the duties which they would render a father. The legionaries who have received these rewards have the right, on their return from the campaign, to be present at games and fêtes, clothed in a dress only worn by those whose bravery the consuls have honoured. They besides hang up, in the most conspicuous places of their houses, the spoils which they have taken from the enemy, as monuments of their courage.

“After a victory, or the capture of a city, the division of the booty is made with the same regularity. Half the soldiers guard the camp, the others disperse for pillage, and each brings

¹ The consul Petilius having been slain in 176 by the Ligurians, the senate decided that the legion which had not been able to defend its general should not receive the pay of the year, and that that campaign should not be reckoned to any one *quia pro salutis imperatoris hostium telis se non obtulerant*. (Val. Max. II. vii. 15; Cf. Livy, xli. 18.)

² The *obsidional* crown was for a long time made simply of grass.

to his legion what he has been able to get. This booty is sold by auction, and the tribunes divide the proceeds equally among all, including the sick and those who are absent on leave.

"The pay of the foot soldier is two *obols* per day.¹ The centurion has double, the cavalry treble, or a drachma. The ration of bread for the infantry, was two-thirds of an Attic *medimnus* of corn per month, that of the horse 7 *medimni* of barley and 2 of wheat.² The infantry of the allies had the same rations as the Romans; their cavalry 1 *medimnus*, and a third of wheat and 5 of barley. This distribution was made the allies without charge; but as regards the Romans, a certain fixed sum was deducted from their pay for the victuals, dress and arms which were assigned them.

"As the camp was always arranged as has been explained, and as each corps holds the same place in it, all that was needful was that the army, on reaching the place of encampment, should see the white flag waving which marks the spot where the consul's tent is pitched, in order that all the maniples should know where to halt. The soldiers take their places as if entering their native city, each going straight to his dwelling without possibility of mistake. Thus the Romans have no need to search, as the Greeks had, for a place 'fortified naturally;' they could camp everywhere, and everywhere, when the enemy wished to try a night surprise, they found them established in a fortress, where they made a good defence."³

We see that in the army of those days there was no question respecting the distribution of the soldiers according to the order of classes. The legion of the first age of the republic was constituted aristocratically, according to wealth. After the

¹ The *obol* was one-sixth of a drachma, and Polybius regards the Greek drachma as equal to the Roman denarius, which continued to be considered, for the pay of troops, as equal to 10 *ases* though, from 218 B.C. onward (Pl. *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 13), it was worth 16 in commerce. For a year of 360 days, the pay of a foot soldier was therefore 120 denarii, that of the centurion and horse soldier from 240 to 360 denarii. The denarius, containing about this time 58 grains of fine silver (Hussey, *Ancient Weights*), had an absolute value of 88 centimes (8½d.), and a possible value much greater. M. de Witte raises the intrinsic value of the early denarii, struck at the rate of 72 to the lb., to 1.01 francs, that of the later, 84 of which went to the lb., at about 82½ centimes (8¼d.).

² This rate is somewhat higher than that adopted for the French army.

³ Compare with this description that which Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, iv. 5) gives more than two centuries after Polybius.

establishment of pay in 400 B.C., and probably since the reforms made by Camillus,¹ the distinctions set up or regulated by King Servius necessarily disappeared, and equality seemed to rule in the camp as well as in the Forum. Age and strength decided the place that the soldier should hold in the ranks. But Rome was too tenacious of its old usages to forget them entirely. The rich, who in the infantry have complete armour, alone furnish all the cavalry, both those who mount themselves at their own expense, *equo privato*, to whom the State gives 7 medimni of barley a month, and those who receive from it a horse, *equus publicus*, with an allowance for its support, *æs equestre*, equivalent to the rations granted to the others in kind. The poor were only received into the *velites*, a sort of outsiders, who do not count for any serious action, and the needy are enrolled only in times of grave peril.¹ Their service is then an exception, which becomes the rule from Marius' time, that is to say, at the time when the ambitious believe the poorest to be the best auxiliaries.² At the time of the Punic wars the army was still representative of its country. In two centuries it will no longer be so.

Let us note also that no people of antiquity so faithfully fulfilled the obligation of military service. One may assert that from the battle of Lake Regillus to that of Zama the Romans were an army always on foot. To be raised to a civil magistracy one must have been a soldier, and this custom continued to the close of the Antonines. When civil functions in the third century of our era were separated from military, what remained of the spirit of old Rome disappeared, and the reign of adventurers began.

IV.—RECAPITULATION.

So, in the heart of Italy, in the midst of populations subdued, disunited, and watched, arose a people, strong from union and character, which, having spent nearly two centuries in building up its constitution and army, had, in less than eighty years,

¹ The State gave them a sword and buckler.

Proletarius publicitus scutisque feroque

Ornatur ferro.

(Ennius, *ap.* Aul. Gell., xvi. 10.)

² *et homini potentiam querenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus.* (Sallust, *ap.* Aul. Gell., *ibid.*)

subdued and organised the whole peninsula, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina. In presence of these splendid results of human activity and prudence, remembering what Rome had once been, we shall say with Bossuet: "Of all the peoples of the world the Roman people has been the proudest and hardiest, the most regular in its counsels, the most constant in its principles, the most prudent, the most laborious—in short, the most patient. From all this has been formed the best military power, and the most prudent, firm, and logical political system which has ever existed."

These are very glorious destinies and a very great history. Yet if in Rome we have found many great citizens, we would venture to say that we have, up to the present, met with no really great man. This empire was, as Bossuet shows in spite of himself, the work of time, of historical circumstances, and of the collective wisdom of the senate and people. The union of those who deliberated in the curia and of those who voted in the comitia, the spirit of sacrifice and discipline, that is, great civic virtues—it is this which has given the Romans the victory over the Samnites and Italy; this which will give them the victory over Carthage and the world. This history is therefore the triumph of good sense applied with perseverance to public affairs; it is also the most brilliant protest against the old doctrine of the government of the world by the gods, and against the new theory which attributes all human progress to great men. They do much, doubtless, and in the works of art and thought they do all; but in politics there are no other great men than those who are the personification of the wants of their time, and who direct the social forces in the direction these forces had already taken. We shall find Rome becoming incapable of guiding its destinies, and abandoning itself into the hands of its military chiefs; but, for a century longer, its institutions and its old spirit preserved it from these dangerous leaders.



Head of Liberty. Coin of Lollius Palikanus, the reverse of which represents the rostra.
(See page 326.)

FOURTH PERIOD.

THE PUNIC WARS (264-201).

CHAPTER XIX.

CARTHAGE.

I.—COMMERCIAL EMPIRE OF THE PUNIC RACE.

WHILE Rome was advancing slowly by war from the heart of Latium to the Straits of Messina, on the other coast of the Mediterranean, facing Italy, less than 30 leagues from Sicily, the Carthaginian power was growing by means of industry and commerce.

To-day, on a desert strand, 4 leagues from Tunis, are to be seen fragments of columns, the ruins of a Roman aqueduct, some reservoirs half filled up, and in the sea the remains of piers which the waves have destroyed. This is all that remains of Carthage,¹

¹ The most considerable ruins are those of the aqueduct which crossed the isthmus and supplied the city. At its extremity are some deep parallel cisterns, which are sunk under the ground. At a little distance from the cisterns, and commanding the sea by a height of 205 feet, a hill rises, where King Louis Philippe has had a small chapel built in honour of St. Louis. This is, without doubt, the site of Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage. M. Beulé (*Fouilles de Carthage*) thought he found the foundations of the walls on the declivity of the hill, but the results of his excavations have on this point been strongly combated by Mr. Davis (*Carthage and her Remains*). The temple of the great goddess of Carthage, Tanit, whom the Romans successively called Urania, Juno and the Heavenly Virgin, occupied, according to the accounts of ancient authors, another hill almost as extensive as Byrsa, from which it was separated only by a low street. There has been found on the whole breadth of the space comprised between the St. Louis chapel and the sea, but principally in the vicinity of the chapel, a quantity of ex-votos bearing dedications in the Phœnician language to Tanit and Bâal-Hammon, which must come from the temple of this goddess.

"The situation of the ports leaves room for less doubt; they were to the south of Carthage, and opened not upon the Lake of Tunis, but upon the sea, in front of the little port Goletta,

.... *etiam periere ruinæ*. And yet twice, Carthage lived gloriously, first as a Punic city, and then as a Roman. Her towers rose to 4 stories; her triple walls reached to 30 cubits, and such was the strength of her walls, that the rooms made in their masonry could shelter three hundred elephants of war, four thousand horses, and twenty-four thousand soldiers with their provisions, equipment and arms.¹ Gold plates covered her temple of the Sun, whose statue of pure gold weighed, it is said, 1000 talents; and in her squares, which re-echoed with twenty languages, were to be met the half-naked Numidian and Moor, the Iberian dressed in white, the Gaul in his brilliant sagum, the stout Ligurian, the active Balearic, Greeks come to seek their fortune in the great city, Nasamones and Lotus eaters called from the region of the Syrtes—in short, all those who came to Carthage to sell their courage, pay their tribute, or to bring to this commercial centre of all lands, civilized and barbarous, the products of three continents. In its last days after the struggle of a century, Carthage still contained seven hundred thousand people.²

There were two, one behind the other, but one opening gave entrance to both. The first, which communicated directly with the sea, was the commercial port; the other, the naval port, was smaller and circular; an island occupied its centre. These ports had been cut out of the rock, as were a great many of the Phœnician harbours, and they were thus defended on their sides by a natural wall; towards the south they were closed by an iron chain.

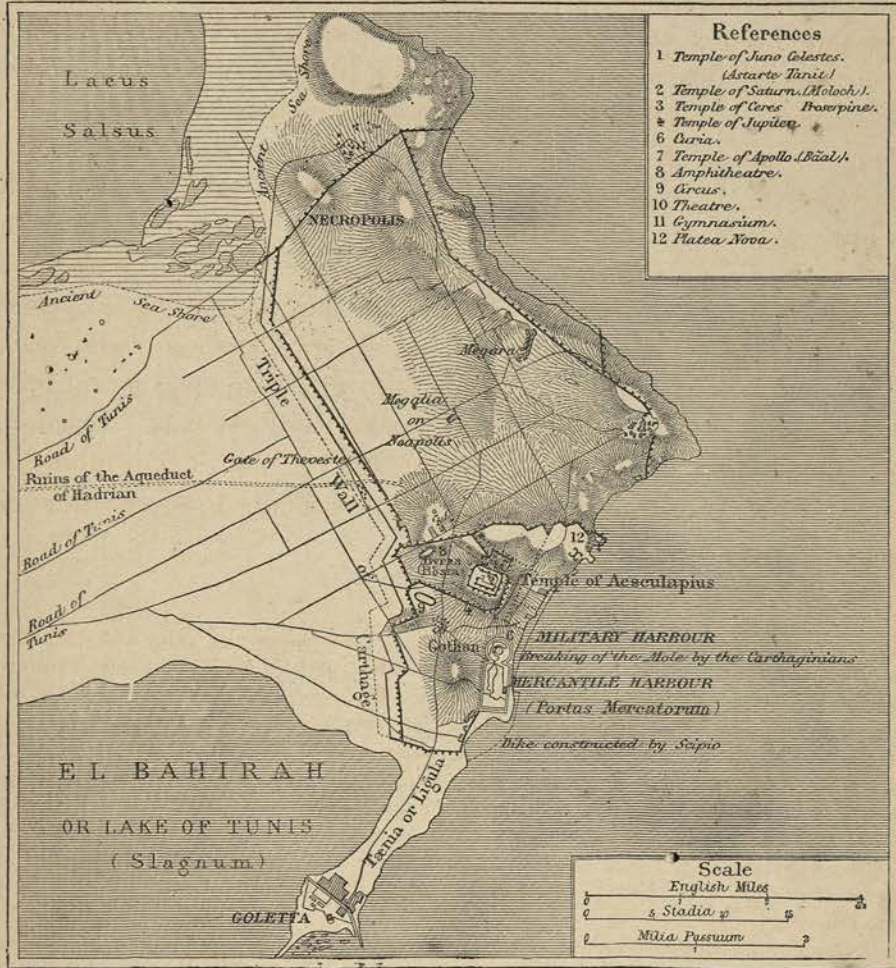
"The Phœnicians carried their religion with them. Wherever they went they raised chapels, or consecrated in the temples of foreign divinities ex-votos to their national divinities. So in almost all their commercial stations are to be found traces of the worship of Melkart and Astarte, or Hereules and Venus, as the Greeks and Romans have always called their gods. The *Portus Herculis*, *Portus Herculis Monæci* (Monaco) and the *Portus Veneris* (Port Vendres) have this origin.

"The Carthaginian inscriptions make known to us, besides priests properly so called, the existence of hierodules attached to the service of the different temples who must have formed regular confraternities. The temple was their family; they had no ancestors; thus more than once is seen on the *stèle* the name of the city of Carthage in the place of the son and of the ancestor of him who made the offering. The inscriptions permit us also to catch glimpses of a religious organisation outside the sacerdotal body; on two or three large inscriptions we see represented the "ten men placed over the sacred things." This must have been a sort of religious magistracy answering to the centumviri or the suffetes; finally, it tells us the names of a certain number of suffetes: Hannibal, Mago, Bomilcar; but their names were very widespread, and the total absence of dates prevents us from drawing any result relative to the history of Carthage." (Note communicated by M. Berger.)

¹ The triple enclosure of which Appian speaks, was perhaps only the external wall, then the two walls of casemates separated from the first by a covered road.

² Its Punic name was Kiriath-Hadeshât, or the *New City*, which was probably pro-

This city was, however, only a colony of another city—Tyre, a city without territory, like Venice or Amsterdam, a vessel at anchor on the sea, and thence witnessing conquerors and revolutions. Tyre and Sidon were the principal cities of a country



Plan of Carthage.¹

which, confined between Lebanon and the sea, had scarcely an area of 240 square miles. But from the smallest countries have come

nounced Kart-Hadshât, and this explains the Greek name *Καρχιδών*, and the Roman name *Carthago*.

¹ There are many plans of Carthage. We have collected into ours the results of the most recent works; but many of the details in the published plans, as also in our own, are only approximations.

² [We may now add to the Italians also.—*Ed.*]

the grandest things: from Attica, the civilization of the world; from Palestine, the religion of Christ.

The Greeks have been the artists, the thinkers, and the poets of the ancient world; the Phœnicians were only the traders,¹ but with so much courage, perseverance and skill, that they have taken, in the history of the human race, a place among its civilizing peoples. In their distant expeditions these gold-seekers



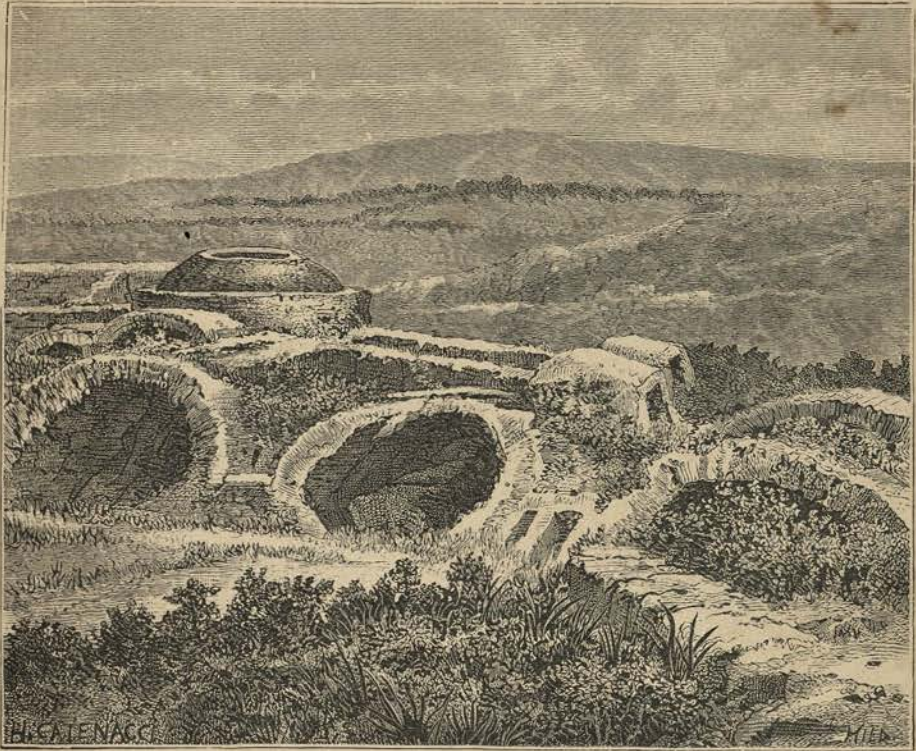
Aqueducts of Carthage.²

had found what they did not seek—the arts and science of Egypt and of Assyria, which they carried away in their caravans and on their ships. To the Greeks they transmitted the hieratic writing of the Pharaohs, the metric system of the Babylonians, and some of the religious doctrines, of the arts, which were felicitously

¹ Respecting the commerce of the Phœnicians, see the magnificent ode by Ezekiel (cap. xxvii), "O Tyre! thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty," etc.

² These aqueducts belonged to Roman Carthage. Drawing taken from the work by Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, see p. 439, n. 2.

modified, by the bright and charming genius of the race beloved by Minerva.¹ To the Africans and Spaniards they taught the agriculture of Syria and of the Nile valley; everywhere they brought the



Cisterns of Carthage.²

products of advanced industry, which woke up the nascent workmanship of barbarous countries.

As there was no land for the Phœnicians on their barren strand,

¹ [The Phœnician influences on Greek and Roman culture are here well stated, and have been of late proved far greater than was supposed by the earlier students of Greece and Rome. The Greek *μῦθ* retains its Babylonian name; the Greek alphabet has now been proved (by De Rougé) to have come from Egypt through the Phœnicians, who re-named the letters; the tombs of Palestrina, etc., show the spread of Phœnician workmanship over Italy. How much Greek and even Roman religion owed them is uncertain, but the debt was certainly large.—*Ed.*]

² These cisterns, built on the east of the citadel, appear to have been 140 feet long, 50 wide and 30 high; the walls were 5 feet thick. The Carthaginian cisterns became insufficient for Roman Carthage. Hadrian sought for a supply at Zaghwan and Djonghar, about 68 miles distant, and constructed a gigantic aqueduct across mountains and valleys. It had a mean height of about 113 feet, and a separation of only 9 feet between the supports. There exists above the Bardo, at about one hour's distance, a part of the arches to an extent of about 800 yards. The canal, which the aqueduct carried, was vaulted, and high enough for an average man to walk along without stooping.

they had taken the sea for their domain; they covered it with their fleets, and planted colonies on all its coasts, not after the fashion of Rome, as fortresses intended to secure empire and the unity of the conquering people, but after the Greek manner, as an overflow of population left to its own resources, and so much the better pursuing its own fortune. There

Coin of Sidon.¹

was a time when the Mediterranean might be styled the Phœnician Sea. The legend, summing up, as it always does, the ancient history of a people in that of a mythic hero, represented the successive stages of progress of Phœnician colonisation by the symbolic voyage of the god Melkart. The Tyrian Heracles, leading a powerful army, had crossed the north of Africa,

Coin of Sardinia.²

Spain, Gaul, Italy and Sicily, subduing nations, founding cities, and teaching to the conquered the arts of peace. Sardinia still possesses the strange monuments raised by the Phœnician colonists the *Nuraghe*.³



Nuraghe of Sori.

In the Ægean Sea the Phœnicians retired before the warlike races of Hellas, and leaving to them the north of the Mediterranean, they kept only Africa and

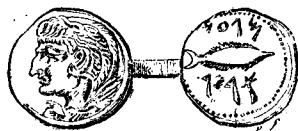
Spain. From Tyre to Cadiz, for 1000 leagues, the Phœnician

¹ Head crowned with towers, personification of the city. On the reverse, the name Sidonians, an eagle with a palm and its foot on a ship's prow; in the field a monogram and the date E, year 5 of the Sidonian era, or 106 B.C.

² SARD. PATER. Head of the god Sardus; on the reverse, the head and name of Atius Balbus, prætor in Sardinia, and grandfather of Augustus. Roman bronze coin.

³ [That these *Nuraghe* were built by Phœnicians is more than doubtful; they probably date from earlier, or at least ruder races.—Ed.]

ships could follow a coast fringed by their factories. But the Mediterranean was too narrow for these thousands of merchants who constituted themselves the purveyors of nations. Their caravans or their ships visited the most remote countries of the east and south. By the Red Sea and Indian Ocean they went as far as India, Ceylon, and established themselves in the Persian Gulf; by Persia and Bactria they penetrated to the frontiers of China. The ivory and ebony of Ethiopia, the gold dust of Central Africa and Asia, the perfumes of Yemen, the cinnamon and spices of Ceylon, the precious stones and rich tissues of India, the pearls of the Persian Gulf, the metals, slaves and wools of Asia minor, copper from Italy, silver from Spain,² tin from England, amber from the Baltic, lay in heaps in the markets of Tyre. But let us not look into the interior of these maritimes cities where, with so much riches, there was combined so much corruption. Under the influence of a hot climate and of a religion which reduced the problem of the universe to that of fecundity, their solemnities were the lascivious feasts of Astarte, or the shrieks with which their temples resounded when Moloch, "the horrid king,"³ required the sacrifice of the noblest children.⁴

Coin of Cadiz.¹

Carthage was only a link of this immense chain which the Phœnicians had attached to all the continents, to all the islands, and with which they seemed to desire to bind the world. But there are cities which are called by their situation to a high fortune. Placed at that point of Africa which seems tending to meet Sicily, to close the canal of Malta, and which commands the passage between the two great basins of the Mediterranean, Carthage

¹ Head of Hercules—Melkart; on the reverse, a fish and a Punic inscription, which reads: "Mebaali-Agadir," a "citizen of Agadir." Silver money. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

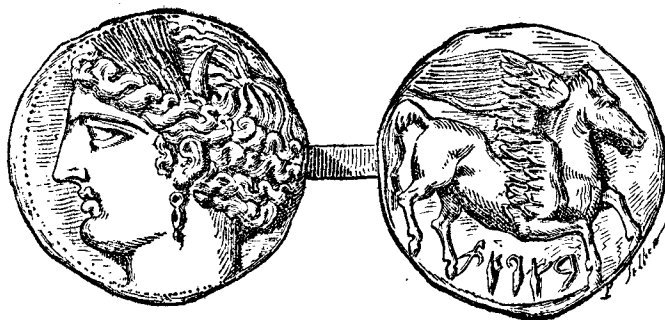
² Silver being rare in ancient times, the ratio of gold to silver was at Rome as 1 to 10; anciently in Asia it was perhaps 1 to 7 or 8; with us it is legally 1 to 15½; this high price of silver was, without doubt, one of the causes of the wealth of the Phœnicians, who drew much silver from Spain. Tyre and Sidon had flourishing industries also; purple stuffs; glass ware, textile fabrics; toys; salt provisions; metal work, etc.

³ Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears.

(Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ii.)

⁴ [The most brilliant picture of Carthaginian splendour will be found in Flaubert's novel *Salammbo*, of which the scene is laid between the first and second Punic wars.—*Ed.*]

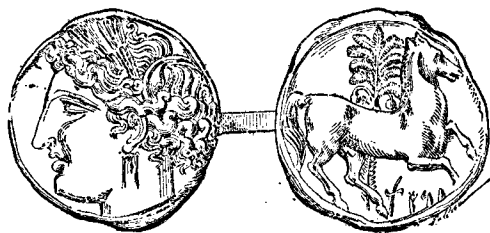
became the Tyre of the West, in colossal proportions, because Mount Atlas, with its intractable mountaineers, was not like Lebanon to Tyre, close to its walls, barring the way and



Coin of Carthage.¹

limiting its space; because it was not encircled, like Palmyra, by the desert and its nomads; because, in short, it was able, resting on large and fertile provinces,² to ex-

tend over the vast continent placed behind it, without being stopped by powerful States. The Greeks of Cyrene were kept in check, the interior of Africa crossed to the Nile and Niger,



Coin of Carthage.⁴

Senegal³ discovered, Spain and Gaul explored, the Canaries discovered, America perhaps surmised and announced to Christopher Columbus by that statue on the isle of Madeira which, with extended arm, pointed to the West. This

is what the colony did which was placed by Tyre at Cape Bon.

There was a moment when this commercial empire founded

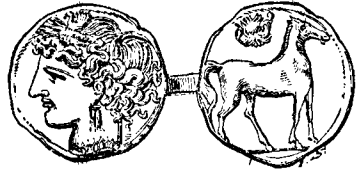
¹ Head of the nymph Arethusa; on the reverse, Pegasus. The inscription, BARAT, signifies the Wells, and perhaps more exactly Bi ARAT, "at Arat," a Punic name of Syracuse which possessed the famous fountain of Arethusa. Large silver piece, certainly struck in Sicily, and probably at Syracuse. (Note of M. de Saulcy.)

² The Zeugitana and the Byzacene districts, the extreme fertility of which Polybius (xii. 3), Diodorus (xx. 8), and Scylax praise, and whose soil is even now of inconceivable fertility. Ninety-seven ears have been counted on a single root of barley, and the natives have assured Sir G. Temple (*Excurs. in the Medit.*, ii. 108) that there have often been as many as 300. At the Algerian Exhibition of 1876 some clusters of barley grown in the ditches of Touggourt, and springing from a single grain, bore each 78, 84, and even 118 ears.

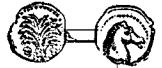
³ Hanno, charged with the examination of the west coasts of Africa, came to a stop through want of provisions between the 7th and 8th degree of N. lat., in the Gulf of Sherboro.

⁴ Head of Arethusa. On the reverse, a free horse, with his back against a palm tree a symbol essentially Carthaginian. A fraction of the former piece. The inscription has the same meaning, which assigns the same Sicilian origin to this piece. An electrum coin. (Note of M. De Saulcy.)

by the Punic race, with its two great capitals, Tyre and Carthage, extended, as did a thousand years later that of their Arab brothers, from the Atlantic Ocean as far as the Indian. But this rule had two implacable enemies; in the east the Greeks, in the west the Romans. With Xerxes the Phœnician ships came as far as Salamis; with Alexander the Greeks appeared under the walls of Tyre, which they overturned. When, however, they founded Antioch and Alexandria, Phœnicia, straitened between these two cities, saw the commerce of the world depart. What Alexander had done to Tyre, Agathocles and Pyrrhus attempted against Carthage. But Greece looks towards the east; here she had gained her brilliant victory; Pyrrhus miscarried in the west against the Phœnician colonists; it required a stronger hand to snatch Sicily from the Carthaginians.



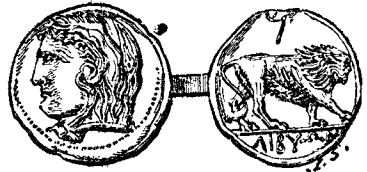
Coin of Carthage.

Gold coin.¹

II.—CARTHAGINIANS AND LIBY-PHŒNICIANS; COMMERCIAL

POLICY OF CARTHAGE.

Like Rome, Carthage had the most obscure beginnings. She took four centuries to found her empire. Not all the Numidians were, as their Greek name would seem to indicate, nomads. Many of the Libyans were devoted to agriculture; many also wandered about, like the present Algerians, with their flocks. She conquered the former and gained or restrained the latter by the alliances which she caused their

Coin of Libya.²

which he called the Horn of the South, *Nórou képac*. He settled colonists, men and women, on divers points of the coast, from 10° N. lat. to the Pillars of Hercules.

¹ On the right, a palm. On the reverse, the head of a horse. Coin of recent period.

² Hercules-Melkart, having the head covered with a lion's skin. On the reverse, a lion walking. Below, the name of the Libyans. Above, the Punic letter corresponding to M, the abbreviation of the word *MAKHINAT*, which signifies *camp*. The piece must be, then, a *moneta castrensis* special to the Libyans. (Note of M. De Sauley.)

chiefs to contract with the daughters of her richest citizens.¹ She encouraged the culture of the soil, and her colonists, mixing with the natives, formed in time the same people with them, the Liby-



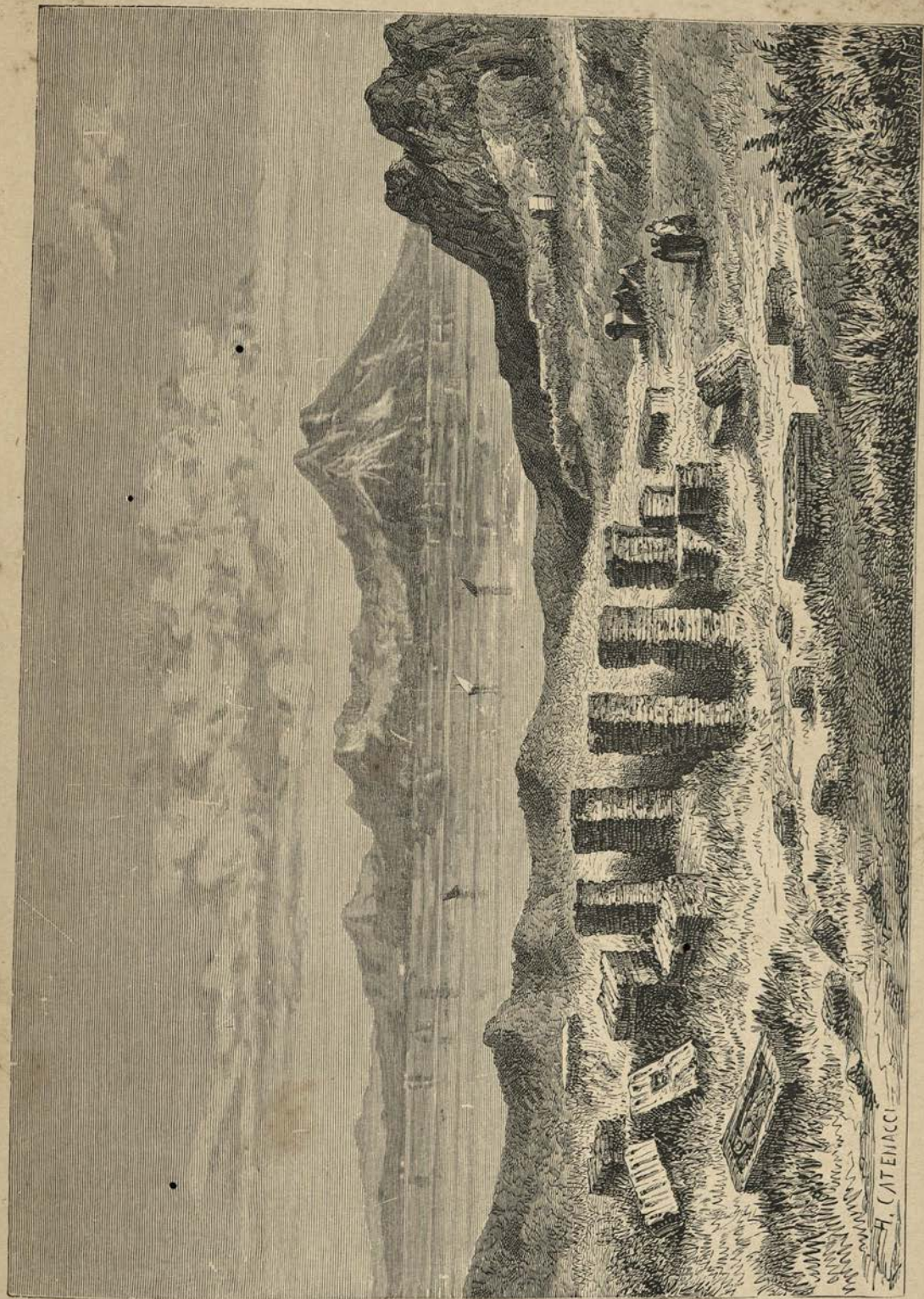
Ports of Carthage² (taken from Davis).

Phœnicians.³ But the Roman colonies, always armed, encircled their metropolis with an impenetrable girdle. The establishments

¹ See in Livy the history of Sophonisba, and in Polybius, on p. 421, that of Naravas (i. 78 *seq.*). Esalces, King of the Massylians, married also a niece of Hannibal. (Livy, xxix. 29.)

² The harbours of Carthage were situate to the S.E. of St. Louis's Chapel, at the point where the Bey's country house stands. The two little lakes, which are actually to be seen, are not remains of the ports, but an attempt at restoration, made some years ago by the son of the prime minister. (De Sainte-Marie, *La Tunisie Chrét.*)

³ Arist., *Pol.*, vi. 3. Let us note that between the Carthaginians and the Africans there was a difference of origin, language, and manners which did not exist, at least to the same degree, between Rome and the Italians, even if the famous narrative of Procopius (*De B.*, V. ii. 20) should be admitted respecting the presence in Africa of Canaanites, that is to say, of men of Phœnician language and race before the arrival of colonists from Sidon and Tyre. In Italy the fusion was possible; it was so in Africa only by that intermediary race the Liby-Phœnicians, which was slow in forming, and which had not the same interests as Carthage. Just as the English are foreigners in India, so the genuine Carthaginians always remained for Africa. In Livy the ambassadors of Masinissa reproach them with it.

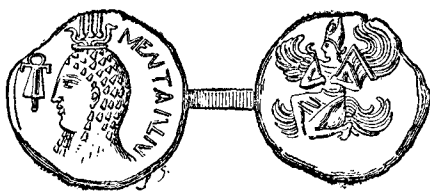


Ruins of the Temple of Baal-Hammon.

of Carthage, all unwall'd, that a revolt might be impossible, were only, to say the truth, large agricultural villages, charged with the feeding of the immense population of the capital and provisioning its thousand ships and its armies. Thus is it that the Carthaginian cities appear to us; open to all attacks, and as incapable of defending themselves against Carthage as against her enemies. Spolietum, Casilinum, Nola, and the impregnable cities of central Italy saved Rome by their resistance to Hannibal; two hundred cities yielded to Agathocles as soon as he had set foot in Africa.

The senate had favoured the intermixture of its colonists with the Libyans (Berbers). But the people who went forth were regarded as an inferior class, excluded from honours and from office,¹ watched, treated as a hostile race, and thus urged on to revolt. The history of Mutin and of the Mercenary War shows both the fault of Carthage and its punishment; at Rome, Mutin would have become a consul; at Carthage, he was insulted, proscribed, and forced into treason to save his head.

Carthage had been preceded or followed on this coast by other Phœnician colonies—Utica, Hippo, Hadrumetum, the two Leptis, all of which she compelled to recognise her supremacy, except Utica, which knew how to keep a real independence.³ No longer having to fear their rivalry, having subjected the Numidian borderers, keeping the rest divided by policy or gold, she had full liberty to extend her maritime empire. Born of a merchant city, Carthage loved nothing but commerce, and made war simply to open up thoroughfares, to make sure of trading with new countries, or to destroy rival powers. The Greeks and the Phœnicians divided between them one of the two great basins of the



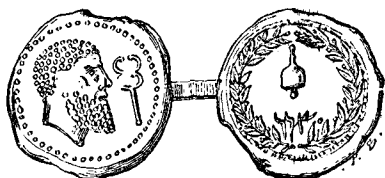
Egypto-Roman Coin of Malta.²

¹ It was the Liby-Phœnicians who composed, with the populace of the capital, the colonies sent out in such number. (Arist., *Pol.*, vi. 3.) [Mommson thinks the designation was really political, like the *Latin name*.—*Ed.*]

² MEΛITAION. Head of Iris, with her usual head-dress—three plumes and two uræns (the serpent, mark of royalty); before her, the representation of the goddess Tanit. On the reverse, Osiris(?) carrying the two symbols of regularity—the claw, which holds, and the *flabellum* which moves or fans. Bronze coin of Malta.

³ Polyb., iii. 24. Utica in Phœnician means the *old town*.

Mediterranean ; Carthage sought to possess the other. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands commanded its navigation ; she



Pæno-Roman Coin of Gaulos.¹

took possession of them. Sicily was better defended by the Greeks of Syracuse ; she kept them in check by taking up her position at Malta, where she kept two thousand men as garrison, at Gaulos, at Cossura, which touch it, at the Ægates and the Lipari Islands, which dominate its coast on the west and north, in Sicily itself, two-thirds of which she finally occupied. Wherever she ruled as sovereign, hard laws—as merchants have always prescribed, even in our days, to defend their monopolies—oppressed the conquered. Whilst around her own walls she condemned the Libyans to work for her profit, it was forbidden, if we could believe the Greeks,



Pæno-Roman Coin of Cossura.³

the inhabitants of Sardinia, under pain of death, to cultivate the soil.² In Africa, whose stormy coast she had fringed with her numerous factories ; in Spain, where ancient Phœnician colonies served as commercial stations, she profited by the ignorance of the barbarians to make good bargains with them. She lost neither her time nor strength in conquering or civilizing them ; she preferred to create wants for them, and to impose on them burdensome exchanges, taking for some slight tissues made at Malta, the gold dust of the African or silver of the Spaniard ; always gaining on everything, and with all men.

¹ Head of Melkart. Before it, a *caduceus*, symbol of commerce. On the reverse, an object, the meaning of which is lost, and in a Roman crown of laurel the words "the ships." Bronze money used for paying sailors.

² *Auct. de Mirab.*, 104. This is a mistake ; Sardinia furnished much corn to the fleets and armies of Carthage (Diod., xiv. 63, 77). But the Carthaginians spread this report to keep off foreign ships from the island which would have supported Carthage if a revolt or war deprived them of the corn of Africa. In the first treaty with Rome, the Romans were allowed to trade in Sardinia ; in the second this permission was withdrawn. (Polyb., iii. 22-24.)

³ Head of a veiled woman, image of the tutelary deity of the island, crowned by a Victory. Reverse, COSSURA, and the representation of Tanit in a crown of laurel (see p. 457, n. 2). Bronze coin of Cossura. These three coins show the two islands submitting to the triple influence of Phœnicia, Egypt, and Rome, and as two at least are of the Roman period, they prove also the persistence of the Punic nationality.

The Etruscans, Massaliots, Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the Greek cities of Italy created for her a severe competition. Against some she excited the hate and ambition of Rome (by the treaties of 509, 348, and 276 B.C.); against others she perhaps armed the Gauls and Ligurians; or else she mysteriously hid the route followed by her ships. Every foreign vessel caught in the waters of Sardinia or near the Pillars of Hercules was pillaged and the crew thrown into the sea.¹ After the Punic wars, this strange right of nations, as Montesquieu calls it, was modified. A Carthaginian vessel, seeing itself followed into the Atlantic by a Roman galley, ran itself aground rather than show the route to the Cassiterides (the Scilly Islands).² The love of gain rose almost to heroism. What is strange, the greatest commercial power of antiquity seems to have remained a long time without itself coining its gold and silver money; at least, the silver and gold coins which we possess of Punic Carthage all come from the mints which it had in Sicily, and where Greek artists worked for it. Syracuse even made them for it, as appears from the beauty of the type and image of the nymph Arethusa. These moneys do not even belong to the standard of weight, after which the true Punic coins were made.³ Carthage, however, had them at the time of its independence; but, following the custom of Egypt and Western Asia, it made its exchanges principally with bullion, as China still does, and by barter, or with pieces of leather, which, bearing the stamp of the State,⁴ played the part of our paper money. This practice need hardly surprise us, as something analagous to it has been found among the Assyrians, from whom Phœnicia borrowed so much.⁵

¹ App., *Bell. Pun.*, 4; Strabo, xvii. p. 802; Montesq., *Esp. des Lois*, xxi, 11

² Strabo, iii. p. 176. The captain being saved, Carthage restored him, at the public expense, all he had lost.

³ Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. i. p. 266. The author believes that Carthage began to coin pieces of gold at home only towards 350.

⁴ Cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm.*, iv. 136.

⁵ From the ninth century B.C. the Assyrians had small clay bricks, which were real letters of credit, enabling the merchants of Babylon and Nineveh to dispense with the cumbrous and sometimes dangerous transport of specie. (Lenormant, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 113.)

III.—MERCENARIES.

To give its commerce scope and security, to be mistress of the seas, Carthage only wanted quiet possession of the isles and coast line. However restricted these pretensions were, armies were required to realize them. But as soon as war becomes simply a commercial matter, a means of assuring the return of capital and the investment of merchandise, why should not the merchants pay soldiers as they pay agents and clerks? Venice, Milan, Florence—



Figures placed at the Prows of Punic Ships.¹

all the Italian republics of the 15th century had *condottieri*; England has often bought them. It was a Phœnician practice: "The Persians, Lydians, and the men of Libya," said Ezekiel to the city of Tyre, "were in thine army, thy men of war; they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness."² Carthage had, therefore, its mercenaries. Horses were bought and ships,

¹ We may suppose that Carthage followed the usage of Tyre and Sidon, who placed monstrous dwarfs at the prow of their ships (*Musée Napoléon*, iii, pl. 19). See (p. 452) what is said of Carthaginian art.

² xxvii. 10.

which they armed at the prow with deformed dwarfs to frighten people; they also bought men, and from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Atlas mountains there were plenty of swords for hire! Every one of Carthage's factories became a recruiting office. The prices were low, for the emulation was great amongst the poor and greedy barbarians who encircled the narrow border of the Carthaginian possessions. Besides, Carthage understood her business. She shipped the women, children, and even the effects of her mercenaries—they were so many hostages of their fidelity; or after



Offering (ex-voto).¹



The Goddess Tanit (ex-voto).²

a murderous campaign they fell to the treasury. No one was refused, neither the Balearic slinger³ nor the Numidian horseman,⁴ armed with a buckler of elephant skin, and covered with the spoils of a lion or panther, nor the Spanish and Gallic foot-man, nor the Greek, whom they employed in every capacity—spy, sailor, builder, in time of need even general.⁵

The more different races there were in the Carthaginian army,

¹ A Carthaginian making an offering before an altar.

² Top of a *stele* of the temple of Tanit, where the goddess, who was "the splendour of Bâal," that is to say, the moon, is reflection of the god, whose wife she was, is represented holding a child. To the right and left on the *acroteria* the crescent moon above the sun's disc.

³ The reputation of these slingers is known. Strabo says (iii. p. 168) that the Balears gave bread to their children only by placing it on a spot which they had to reach by the sling. Cf. Florus (iii. 8), Lycophron (*Alex.*, p. 637), and Diodorus (v. 18), who say the same thing.

⁴ Polyb., i. 15.

⁵ Xanthippus. Polyb., i. 7. See in the chapter following the history of the Rhodian of Lilybæum.

the more the senate felt confidence; a revolt seemed impossible among so many men who could not understand one another. Besides the general, his principal officers, and guard, who were called the sacred battalion,¹ were Carthaginians, and the senators always kept some of their colleagues near him to watch over his conduct, and be assured that all his people were well earning their pay. The love of glory, patriotism, devotion to the State, all those great names which at Rome did miracles, had no currency with the senate of Carthage. They spoke much of receipts and expenditure—very little of national honour; thus the resources of the country were only measured by those of the treasury. Whilst that was full, they paid soldiers with a careless prodigality; when it was exhausted they retired or came to terms—it was a bad speculation. When she succeeded the expenses were well covered, and the mercenaries killed in the enterprise forgotten. What mattered it that there were forty or fifty thousand barbarians less in the world! These mercenaries could become dangerous. But the senators knew how to free themselves from their demands—witness the four thousand Gauls given up to the sword of the Romans, the troop abandoned on the desert Isle of Bones,² and Xanthippus, who perhaps perished like Carmagnola.

Such a system might last so long as distant expeditions only were concerned, but the moment that war drew near their own walls Carthage was lost. Its citizens having committed to mercenaries the care of their defence, found few resources in themselves when they stood alone in face of the enemy. Could they have had a senate able to send to the Romans, when making a descent on Africa, the answer of Appius to the King of Epirus! could they have made legionaries, as those of Asculum and Beneventum, out of their shop boys! “A crowd of virtues belongs to the pursuit of arms,”³ and war, while a great misfortune, gives to

¹ For the Carthaginian citizen military service was so meritorious that he desired to keep perpetual remembrance of it. The law considered that to gird the sword was quite an exploit, and authorized the citizen to wear as many rings as he had made campaigns. (Arist., *Polit.*, vii. 2, 6.)

² Ὀσσεῶδες. Diod., v. 11.

³ Chateaubriand says: “A people accustomed to see only the variations of the funds and the yard of cloth sold, if it find itself exposed to a disturbance will be able to show neither the

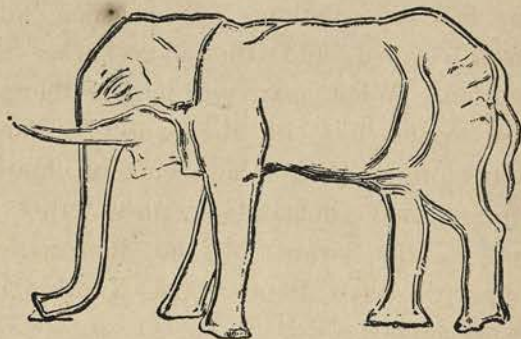
a military people qualities which outside camps are not known. Like the Jews and Tyrians, their brethren, the Carthaginians learnt how to fight only in their last days; but like them also, at the crisis they were heroic.

IV.—THE CONSTITUTION.

Besides, the mercenaries only appeared at periods of decadence—in Greece, after Alexander; in the Roman empire, after



Pomegranate (ex-voto).¹



Elephant (ex-voto).¹

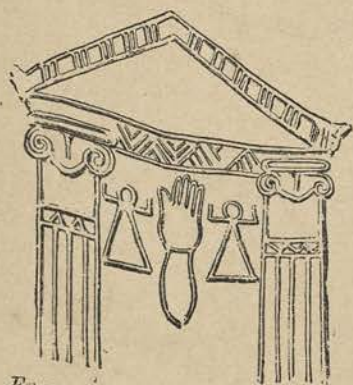
the Antonines; in Italy, in the Middle Ages, after the Lombard League. When Rome and Carthage met, according to Polybius,² the former was in the full force of its robust constitution; the other had reached that senility of States when the enfeebled organisation is no longer directed by an energetic will. The assertion of the merits of poverty had disappeared with the declamations on the virtues of the golden age. The poor man is not necessarily a good citizen, and the rich a bad one, but riches as well as indigence can produce mischief. Now, there was at

energy of resistance nor the generosity of sacrifice. Repose begets cowardice; among shuttles there is fear of swords; a crowd of virtues belongs to arms."

¹ Taken from a *stele* of the temple of Tanit. The pomegranate being consecrated to Adonis, this representation would indicate some relation between the worship of Tanit and that of Adonis. These two designs show more manual dexterity in the reproduction of animals and plants than is to be found in that of the human figure.

² Polyb., vi. 51. [Greeks served for pay from early days as already mentioned.—*Ed.*]

Carthage too much opulence and too little of that high spirit which raises the soul above fortune. This great city had skilful merchants, bold voyagers, wise counsellors, and incomparable generals; we cannot name a poet, an artist, or a philosopher.¹ It will be



Ex-voto of the Temple of Tanit.²

quite enough to see the reproduction which we give of some specimens of the three thousand *ex-votos* found at Carthage to learn that, true to its origin, this people had no more art than their metropolis. It was active enough, but not thoughtful, and its religion, at once licentious and sanguinary, and for that reason very tenacious, exercised no moral influence on private life, no useful influence on the government, whilst that of the Romans promoted virtuous conduct, and its priests, nearly all magistrates or senators, spoke in the name of Heaven to give sanctions to political wisdom.

The Romans pillaged the enemy; they did not pillage the

¹ In spite of the luxury of the temples and palaces, art was at Rome, as at Tyre, only a foreign importation. In the Temple of Melkart at Tyre, where Herodotus (ii. 44) saw a gold column and one of emerald, there was no image of the god. The same in the temple of Gades:

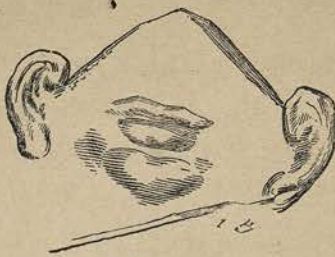
... *nulla effigies, simulacrave nota deorum*
Majestate locum implevere timore.

(Silius Italicus, *Punica*, iii, 30.)

There were some books at Carthage since the senate gave them to Masinissa, and Sallust (*Jug.*, p. 17) saw them; but there is no literary work extant but Mago's treatise on agriculture. It has been thought that the sculptor Boëthos was a Carthaginian, but the best editions of Pausanias have the reading Χαλκηδόνιος in place of Καρχηδόνιος, which makes Boëthos to be a Greek of Chalcedon (see the Pausanias ed. Didot, V. xvii. 4). They make Clitomachus also a Carthaginian, one of the chiefs of the New Academy, but he lived a long time at Athens, and there succeeded (in 129 B.C.) Carneades. He was still teaching there in 111 (Cicero, *De Orat.*, i. 11), and he is traced there as far as the year 100. He was a Greek, at least in education, as another Carthaginian, Terence, was a Roman.

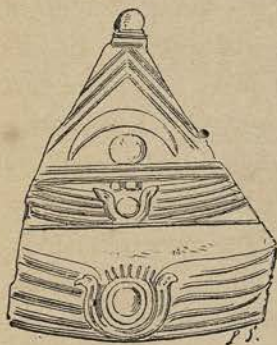
² A pediment somewhat Greek, then two figures of geometrical appearance, and which are, in fact, the rudimentary representation of the sacred cone (Venus of Paphos, Tacit., *Hist.*, ii. 3, black stone of Emesa, Cybele, etc.), which was the image of Tanit, of whom the Græco-Romans have made the *Heavenly Virgin*. "There, indeed, where the Aryan mind sees atmospheric phenomena the Semite sees persons, who become united and beget others.... The open hand seen from the front is the hand of the divinity which blesses." (Berger, *Les Ex-voto du temple de Tanit*, p. 12.)

³ Note explanatory of the figures of the plate (p. 455): No. 1, Attitude of adoration; No. 2, Hand of the goddess blessing, whose power is indicated by the immoderate size of the thumb, on which is graven its image; No. 3, The ears of the god "who hears" and his mouth, "which blesses"; No. 4, Disc of Venus surmounting the globe of the sun, with two *urai*, symbols of

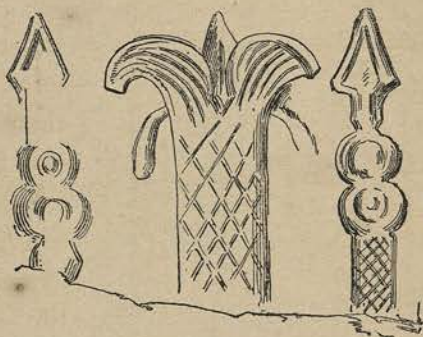


No. 1. Adoration. No. 2. Hand of a God Blessing.

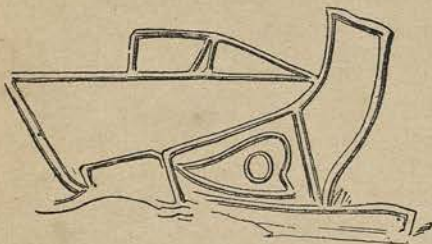
No. 3. Ex-voto.



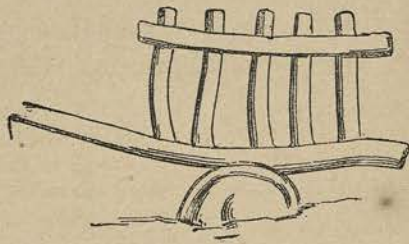
No. 4. Disc of Venus.



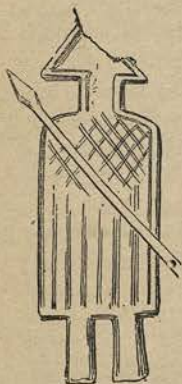
No. 5. Palm Tree and Ensigns.



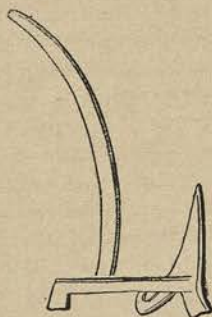
No. 6. Ship.



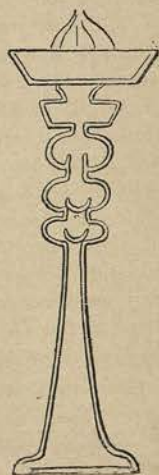
No. 7. Chariot.



No. 8. Trophy.



No. 9. Plough.



No. 10. Candelabrum.

Remains of Carthaginian Art (see p. 454, note 3).

State. At Carthage, in the latter days, all was for sale and all was sold, principles as well as places. As wealth gave power, honours and pleasure, no means of acquiring it, whether by force or astuteness, seemed illegitimate. "Among the Carthaginians," says Polybius, "in whatever way riches are acquired, one is never blamed; high places are bought." Aristotle also says that the rich alone held office. Carthage loved gold; she got possession of it, and she died the very day when she lost it, *receperunt mercedem suam*.

Nevertheless, Aristotle boasts of the excellence of her government.¹ It was a constitution made up of different elements—royalty, aristocracy, democracy, but without the existence among these powers of the just balance which is the advantage of this kind of polity: oligarchy was really supreme. Two suffetes (*shophetim*, i.e., judges) chosen out of privileged families, and nominated, at first for life, by the general assembly, were the highest magistrates of the republic; some Greek and Latin writers give them the name of kings.² After them came the senate, in which all the great families had representatives. To facilitate the action of the government by concentrating it there was taken from the senate the council of the centumviri or of the hundred and four, according to Aristotle. The latter, by degrees, usurped the power, so that the suffetes became an annual office, and, being deprived of the command of the armies, were no more than presidents of this council and the religious chiefs of the nation. The centumviri who recruited themselves by co-option, could call the generals to

Baal-Hammon, formed by two crowned serpents surrounding the solar disc; No. 5, in the centre a palm tree with two clusters of dates, to the right and left two pikes representing ensigns; No. 6, Ship's prow; No. 7, Chariot with full wheels; No. 8, Panoply showing that the conical helmet represented is like the conical helmets found at Cannæ, and which, after our drawing, should be considered as Carthaginian; No. 9, Plough; No. 10, Candelabrum (extract from a memoir by Mons. Ph. Berger on *Les Ex-voto du temple de Tanit à Carthage*). Let what precious monuments come from the small town of Pompeii be compared with what the temple of Tanit yields to us, and whatever allowance we may make for profanations and pillage, the thought must strike us that the Carthaginians, in spite of their nearness to Sicily, had only rude forms of art.

¹ Arist., *Polit.*, ii. 8. Cicero says also: *Nec tantum Carthago habuisset opum sexcentos fere annos sine consiliis et disciplina.* (*De Rep.*, i., fragm. inc., 3.)

² Corn. Nepos (*Hannib.*, 7). Arist. (*Pol.*, ii. 8) compares them to the kings of Sparta, and calls them βασιλεῖς. Livy (xxx. 7) compares them to the consuls. Cf. Zon. viii. 8. Gades had two suffetes (Livy, xxviii. 37), and the case was probably the same in all the Phœnician and Carthaginian colonies.

account; they made use of this right to control all the military forces of the republic. In time the other magistrates and the senate itself found themselves subjected to their control.¹ As senators, they filled the committees formed in the senate to control each of the branches of the administration—the navy, internal police, military affairs, etc., and as centumviri they exercised, moreover, supervision over these committees. Finally they formed the tribunal before which were brought judicial matters, perhaps in the committee of the Thirty, whose members were for life,² and who seem to have been a privy council.³ The nomination to offices and the right of intervening, in case of disagreement, between the suffetes and the senate constituted the sole prerogatives of the public assembly.

We cannot be quite sure that what has just been said is a faithful summary of the Carthaginian constitution. The information of the ancients is insufficient, and on many points contradictory;⁴ but they agree in showing the lengthened preponderance in this republic of the oligarchy which, to keep away the poor from the government, had made, as at Rome, all public functions unsalaried, and permitted the same citizens to hold several offices at the same time. To select senators and judges Athens consulted the lot, which is very democratic; Carthage consulted wealth only, which is not so.

The senate, and in the senate the centumvirs, were for a long time the sole masters of government. If liberty, as the Greeks

¹ Livy, xxx. 16; xxliii. 46. The tribunal of the Forty, at Venice, united also all their powers. (See Daru, Bk. xxxix.); Arist. (*Pol.*, ii. 8) speaks of the *συστία τῶν ἑταυρίων*. These associations where they prepared subjects for deliberation in the senate: *in circulis convivisque celebrata sermonibus res est, deinde in senatu quidam* (Livy, xxxiv. 61) were an element of strength to the aristocracy, which was besides renewed by the accession of the newly become rich. Observe that the Carthaginians had not family names any more than the Jews.

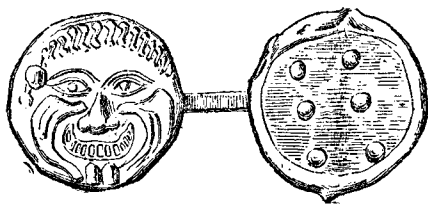
² Justin, xix. 2, 5, and Livy, xxxii. 46: *res fama vitæque omnium in illorum potestate erat. Qui unum ejus ordinis offendisset, omnes adversos habebat.*

³ . . . *Triginta seniorum principes: id erat sanctius apud illos, consilium, maximæque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.* (Livy, xxx. 16.)

⁴ The two men who have spoken with the greatest authority respecting the institutions of Carthage, Aristotle and Polybius, are separated by two centuries, since the former died in 322, and the latter in 122. The one knew Carthage in prosperity, and finds its government excellent; the other saw its ruin, and blames its institutions. Both speak truly though inconsistently, and this difference is explained by the difference of the times when they lived. Yet Aristotle had said: "If ever any great reverse happen to them, if their subjects refuse them obedience, the Carthaginians will find no means in their constitution to save themselves."

of the decadence understood it, suffered, empire profited, for the Carthaginian senate had the immutable policy belonging to great aristocratic bodies which, pursuing the same designs with energy and prudence for several generations, do more for the future of States than the often-changing influence of popular assemblies.

It maintained during one whole war the same generals in office, for example, Hannibal,¹ the defender of Agrigentum; Carthalon, the destroyer of the Roman fleet among the rocks of Camarina; Adherbal, the conqueror at Drepanum;



Coin of Camarina.²

Himilco, who for nine years held Lilybæum; and, above all, Amilcar Barca, over whom for six years all the efforts of his powerful adversaries could not triumph. But it watched their acts and punished their faults, not always their misfortunes; thus he who was conquered at Mylæ, being surprised by an unusual manœuvre, did not lose its confidence. It is blamed for some rigorous decisions; it was right to remove from commands the incapable or to strike ambitious fools, who deserve the extremest severities when they have lost the army or compromised the State. In home affairs it did not, like Athens, give up the tribunals to the people, that is to say, justice to popular passions, and so well did it defend the civil power against military chiefs and demagogues, that there was not seen to arise, during a space of five hundred years, one of those tyrannies which were so often bred elsewhere from the favour of the army or demagogic excesses.³ The populace, restrained by a whole system of aristocratic institutions, attached to

¹ The following are the meanings, as given by M. de Saulcy, of some Carthaginian names: Hannibal (khanni-Bâal), "Bâal has taken me into favour;" Asdrubal (âazeron-Bâal), "Bâal has protected him," or "protects him;" Amilcar (âbd-Melkart), "the servant of Melkart;" Hannon (khannoun), "the gracious;" Maharbal (mahar-Bâal), "present from Bâal;" Bodostor (âbd-Astaroth), "the servant of Astarte;" Bomilcar (âbd-Melkart), "the servant of Melkart."

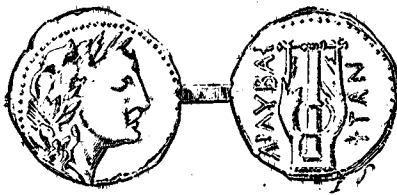
² Theatrical mask or head of Medusa; on the reverse, six globules, mark of the $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. (6 ounces). Very ancient bronze coin of Camarina.

³ Two attempts at usurpation are quoted. Aristotle speaks of a Hanno, whom he compares to Pausanias, and who, in 340, was put to death after frightful tortures with his whole family; and according to Justin (xxi. 4), Bomilcar also attempted, in 308, to cause a revolution.

the government by the opulence of the charitable establishments,¹ was also periodically enfeebled by the sending abroad of numerous colonies. Carthage thus got rid of this populace without native ties and without gods, which collects in great merchant cities, and in whom low instincts, brutal passions, hatred, envy, and all covetousness were at work. War stopped this current of emigration, and seditious mobs gathered in Carthage. If we believe the wisest historian of antiquity, the Punic wars, which at Rome consolidated union, modified the constitution for the profit of the multitude. He says, "Among the Carthaginians, it was the people, before the war of Hannibal, who decided all; at Rome it was the senate. So the Romans, often beaten, triumphed at last by the prudence of their plans."² We must attribute, if we follow Polybius, this great fall of Carthage to its demagogues; they have caused that of many other states!

¹ "The Carthaginians have rich establishments where they take care to place a large number of citizens of the lower class. It is thus that they remedy the fault of their government, and assure tranquillity at home. (Arist., ii. 8.)

² Polyb., vi. 54; Cf. xv. 30.



Head of Apollo crowned with laurel; on the reverse, ΑΙΑΥΒΑΙΤΑΝ and a lyre. Bronze coin of Lilybæum.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (264-241).

I.—THE TREATIES BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE (509-279).

ROME and Carthage had known each other for a long time; three times they had sealed their alliance by treaties, for they had the same enemies—the pirates who infested the Tyrrhenian Sea, and pillaged the coasts of Latium; later on the Italiot Greeks and Pyrrhus.

We can still quote these monuments of a very ancient diplomacy: Polybius had read them on tables of bronze preserved in the archives of the ædiles. They are doubly interesting—as regards the history of political events, and that of the law of nations. The most ancient, which is at once a treaty of alliance and of commerce, was negotiated by Tarquin, and concluded by the first consuls of the republic (509). “Between the Romans and their allies on the one part, the Carthaginians and their allies on the other, there shall be peace and amity on the following conditions: the Romans and their allies shall not sail their war-ships beyond [east of] Cape Bon (Prom. Pulchrum), unless they be driven thither by tempest or chased by their enemies. In that case they shall be permitted to buy there or to take thence what shall be necessary for the repair of the vessels, and for sacrifices to the gods, and they shall undertake to leave in five days. Their merchant-ships shall be able to trade at Carthage, but no bargain shall be valid unless it shall have been made by the medium of the public crier and writer. For everything sold in their presence, the public credit shall be a guarantee as regards the seller. The same shall apply in Africa (on the territory of Carthage), in Sardinia, and in the part of Sicily under the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians shall do no harm to the peoples of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circei and Terracina, nor to any other Latin people subject to Rome.

The second treaty is later by more than a century and a half (348 B.C.). Rome had employed its hundred and sixty-two years in recovering that which the setting up of the republic had cost. Carthage, on the contrary, secure from revolutions under its aristocratic government, had grown in strength and riches. Among its allies it names this time Utica and Tyre, because it now represents all the ambitions of the Phœnician race, united against those Greeks who come into so rude a rivalry with the ancient masters of the Mediterranean, who dispute with them Sicily, and threaten at the same time the Roman coast of Latium and the Punic factories of the Tyrrhenian Sea. So its words are more haughty and its concessions less favourable. By the former treaty it interdicted the Romans from navigating the Eastern Mediterranean; it maintains this prohibition and adds another, that of not passing the Pillars of Hercules. It takes from them the right of traffic in Sardinia and Africa, and no longer engages not to molest the Latin cities which it might take outside the Roman territory. It still consents, indeed, to give up such towns to its allies, but cleared of gold and captives which this time it intends to keep.¹

The third treaty is in the year 279 B.C.² Pyrrhus being then in Italy, and disturbing both Carthage and Rome, these two cities renewed their old compact of friendship. They stipulated that neither of the two nations should accept from the king conditions contrary to the alliance, and that if one of the two peoples were attacked by the Epirots, the other should have the right to help it.³ "Carthage shall furnish transport ships for the voyage out and back, but the auxiliaries shall be paid by the State which sends them. The Carthaginians shall bring help to the Romans on sea, should the latter need it; yet the ships' crews shall not be forced to land if they refuse."

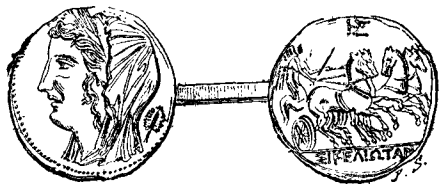
These treaties were confirmed by oaths. The Carthaginians swore by the gods of their fathers; the Romans, in the former

¹ [This treaty was mainly concerned with international limitations of piracy, which, since the fall of the Etruscan and Dionysian naval powers, was restricted by no powerful marine, and was particularly injurious to the Romans, who had no fleet to overcome it. Cf. Livy, vii. 26, and Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 60, *seq.*—*Ed.*]

² [Really the fourth. The third was in 306 B.C., but its terms are unknown—*Ed.*]

³ . . . ἵνα ἐξῇ βοηθεῖν ἀλλήλοις. (Polyb., iii. 25.)

treaties by Jupiter Lapis, in the last by Mars and Enyalius.¹ The oath by Jupiter Lapis was thus taken: "The fecial takes a stone in his hand, and, after having sworn by the public faith that the conventions shall be faithfully kept, he adds: 'If I speak the truth, let happiness be mine; if I think differently from what I say, let every one else preserve in peace, in his own country and under its laws, his property, penates and their tombs; as for myself, let me be cast away as I cast away this stone.' And while saying these words he throws the stone far away."



Coin of Sicily.²

We have seen that the Carthaginians, to fulfil one of the clauses of the treaty, before it had even been requested by Rome, sent to Ostia a hundred and twenty galleys.³ The senate did not accept this help; under their refusal was hidden the confidence which the Romans had of conquering alone, or the distrust with which such forward allies inspired them. From Ostia the admiral sailed to Tarentum, and offered his mediation to Pyrrhus.⁴ The Carthaginians were evidently very desirous to restore the king to the delights of his Epirot royalty. He, on the contrary, dreamt only of battles; he passed into Sicily, made war there for three years, and when quitting the island exclaimed: "What a fair battlefield we are leaving to the Romans and Carthaginians!"⁵

II.—OPERATIONS IN SICILY (264 B.C.).

Neither Rome nor Carthage could yield to a rival power the fine island situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, which adjoins Italy, and from which Africa is almost visible. If

¹ Enyalius, or the *bellicose*, was at first a surname of Mars; later on they made him a son of that god. He holds probably, in the language of Polybius, the place of Quirinus.

² Woman's head (probably the queen Philistis, whom some assign as wife to Hiero II.) veiled and crowned with corn ears; behind, a leaf. On the reverse, ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ and a monogram. Victory in a quadriga. Coin of the Sicilians.

³ Justin, xviii. 2.

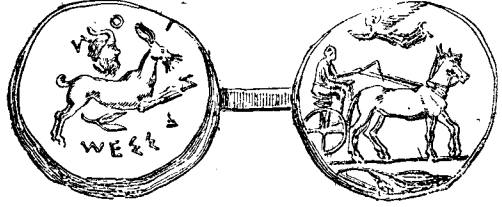
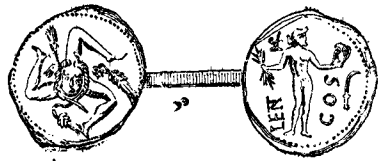
⁴ Justin, xviii. 2. Livy tells of presents which Carthage sent in the years 342 and 306 to Rome, in congratulating them on their successes over the Samnites, vii. 38; ix. 43.

⁵ A quarrel had already been near breaking out on the subject of Tarentum. See p. 383.

Carthage were mistress of it, she would shut up the Romans in the peninsula, whose people her intrigues and gold would unceasingly be arousing to revolt. If Rome ruled there, the commerce of Carthage would be intercepted, and a fair wind could in less than a night convey the legions to the foot of her walls.

Three powers divided the island between them: Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse since the year 270, the Carthaginians, and the Mamertines or sons of Mars. The last, who had been mercenaries of Agathocles,² had by treason seized Messina, and from this port they infested the whole island.³ Diodorus represents them pillaging even on the south coast, where they laid waste Gela

which was rising from its ruins. Hiero wished to rid Sicily of them; he beat them, threw them back on Messina, and was going to receive their submission when the Carthaginian governor of Lipari, Hanno, disputed this conquest with him. The Mamertines then remembered that they were Italians, and preferring a protector at a distance to friends so close at hand, they sent an embassy to Rome. The Mamertines were notorious pillagers. What the garrison of

Coin of Messina.¹Coin of Hiero II.⁴The *Triquetra*.⁵

¹ ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΝ. Hare running; above, head of Pan; below, a leaf. On the reverse, a figure seated in a biga and crowned by a Victory; below, a leaf. Silver tetradrachma of Messina.

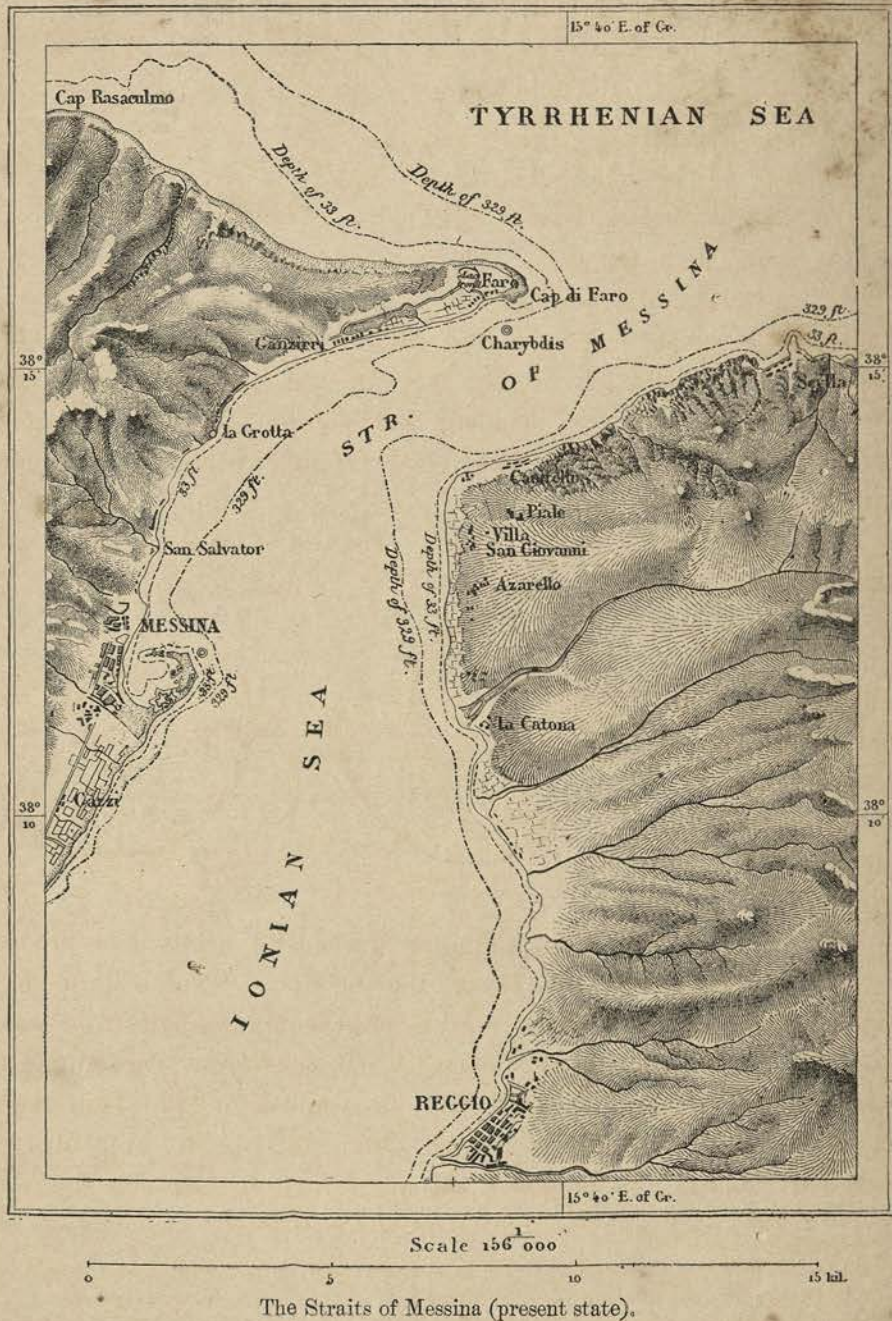
² Festus regards them as a sacred spring of the Samnites. See p. cxxi.

³ See p. 371.

⁴ Head with diadem of Hiero II.; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a quadriga at a gallop; in the field a star. Silver octodrachma.

⁵ The *triquetra*, a symbol of Sicily, the island of three promontories, *Trinacria*; on the reverse, LENT. COS. Jupiter standing, holding a thunderbolt and an eagle; in the field a strigil. Silver penny of the Cornelian family.

Rhegium, so severely punished, had just done on one of the coasts of the Straits, the Mamertines had done, and very much

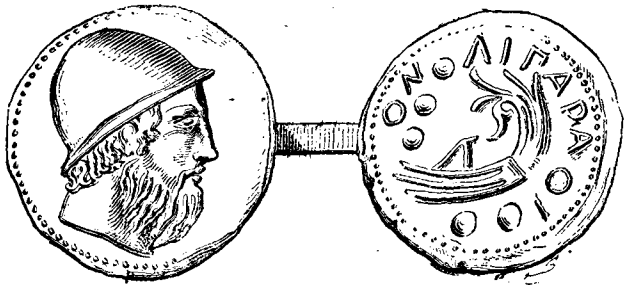


worse, on the other side. The senate hesitated at undertaking their defence. The consuls, less scrupulous, carried the matter

before the people. They recalled the equivocal conduct of the Carthaginians at Tarentum, and pointed out the establishments of this people in Corsica, in Sardinia, in the Lipari islands, in Sicily, like a chain which already closed the Tyrrhenian Sea, and which must be broken. The ambition of the Romans was a mixture of pride and avarice. They wished to command, because they considered themselves to be already the greatest people of the earth; they wished to conquer to satisfy their taste for plunder; Sicily and Carthage were such a rich prey! The people decided that succour should be sent to the Mamertines; the consul dispatched in great haste the legionary tribune C. Claudius to Messina.

Coin of Agathocles.¹

He was, like all those of his race, an energetic man, who stopped at nothing if he could gain his end. He passed the Straits at the risk of being seized by the enemy, and on his arrival at Messina found Hanno established in the citadel which a fac-

Coin of Lipari.²

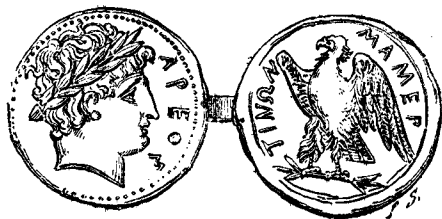
tion had delivered to him.³ Claudius wished to bring over troops, but the Carthaginian vessels closed the Straits. "Not a ship shall pass," said Hanno, "and not one of your soldiers shall ever wash his hands in the waters of Sicily." However, he consented to an interview with the tribune; in the midst of the conference Claudius caused him to be seized, and to obtain his liberty, Hanno surrendered the citadel. On his return to Carthage he was

¹ ΚΟΡΑΣ. Head of a Proserpine; the reverse, victory setting up a trophy; in the field the *triquetra*. As inscription, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ. Silver coin of Agathocles, King of Syracuse.

² Head of Vulcan; on the reverse, ΛΙΠΑΡΙΟΝ and a prow of a vessel with the *acrostolium*, an ornament which terminates a ship's prow; the six globules are the mark of the $\frac{1}{2}$ denarius, large sized bronze money of Lipari.

³ [No doubt this party argued that the example of Rhegium made the Romans more unsafe allies than the Carthaginians.—*Ed.*]

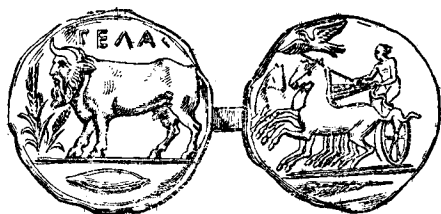
crucified, but Rome had commenced the period of its great wars by an act of perfidy, which, with many others, was forgotten by her orators when they arraigned "Punic faith" in the senate and the Forum.



Coin of the Mamertines.¹

Hiero and the Carthaginians united in laying siege to Messina. With horrible precaution the Carthaginians massacred their Italian

mercenaries; but as the strait was scarcely more than 2 miles in the narrowest part, the allies could not prevent the consul Appius Caudex² taking advantage of a dark night to send across twenty thousand men on barks and small boats, lent by all the cities on the coast. Appius defeated or cowed the two besieging armies



Coin of Gela.

which were not very considerable, for Polybius does not say that their retreat was the result of a victory by the Romans. The consul pursued Hiero as far as the walls of Syracuse; the place was too strong to be taken by a

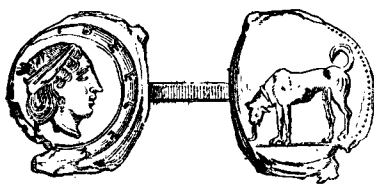
sudden attack, and the malaria of the marshes the Anapus forced him to retire (264). He retired to Messina, where he left a garrison.³ The occupation of this natural and secure harbour, large enough to hold six hundred galleys of the ancients, and deep enough to receive the largest of modern vessels, was worth more to Rome than a victory. She possessed there the port of the island, and she took measures for its safe preservation. This prosperous commencement encouraged the senate to push on the war vigorously. The two consuls and thirty-six thousand legionaries passed the following year in Sicily, where sixty-seven towns, and amongst them Catana, at the foot of Etna, fell into their power. Segesta, the most ancient ally of Carthage in the island, had

¹ Laurellled head of young Mars and his Greek name, ΑΡΕΩΣ; on the reverse, ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ. An eagle on a thunderbolt. Bronze coin of the Mamertines.

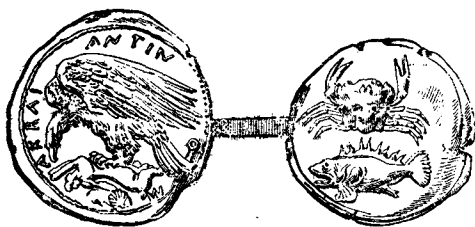
² From the name of his transport ships, *caudicariae*. [Most writers call him Claudius.—*Ed.*]

³ [Rather he was defeated and driven into Messina, where his siege was raised by the victory of the succeeding consul (Messalla). In this year too the first Roman fleet was built. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 86.—*Ed.*]

massacred its Punic garrison, and had pleaded its pretended Trojan descent in order to obtain favourable terms from the Romans. The senate was not likely to refuse a people, which attracted its nobility by flattering Roman vanity, and which gave such pledges of its relationship. The Segestans were declared *liberi et immunes*. Hiero, dismayed, and reflecting that Syracuse had more to lose, in the matter of its commerce, by siding with Carthage than with Rome, hastened to negotiate; he gave up his prisoners, payed 100 talents,³ and remained for fifty years the faithful ally of the Romans.

Coin of Rhegium.¹Coin of Segesta.²

Never was Syracuse in a happier condition. Theocritus was there then, cursing the war, and praying the gods to cast into the Sardinian sea the enemies who were destroying the Sicilian cities.⁴ We would wish to believe that these idylls were a true picture of the happiness of this little corner of land, while the rest of the world was shaken by the collision of two great nations.



Coin of Agrigentum.

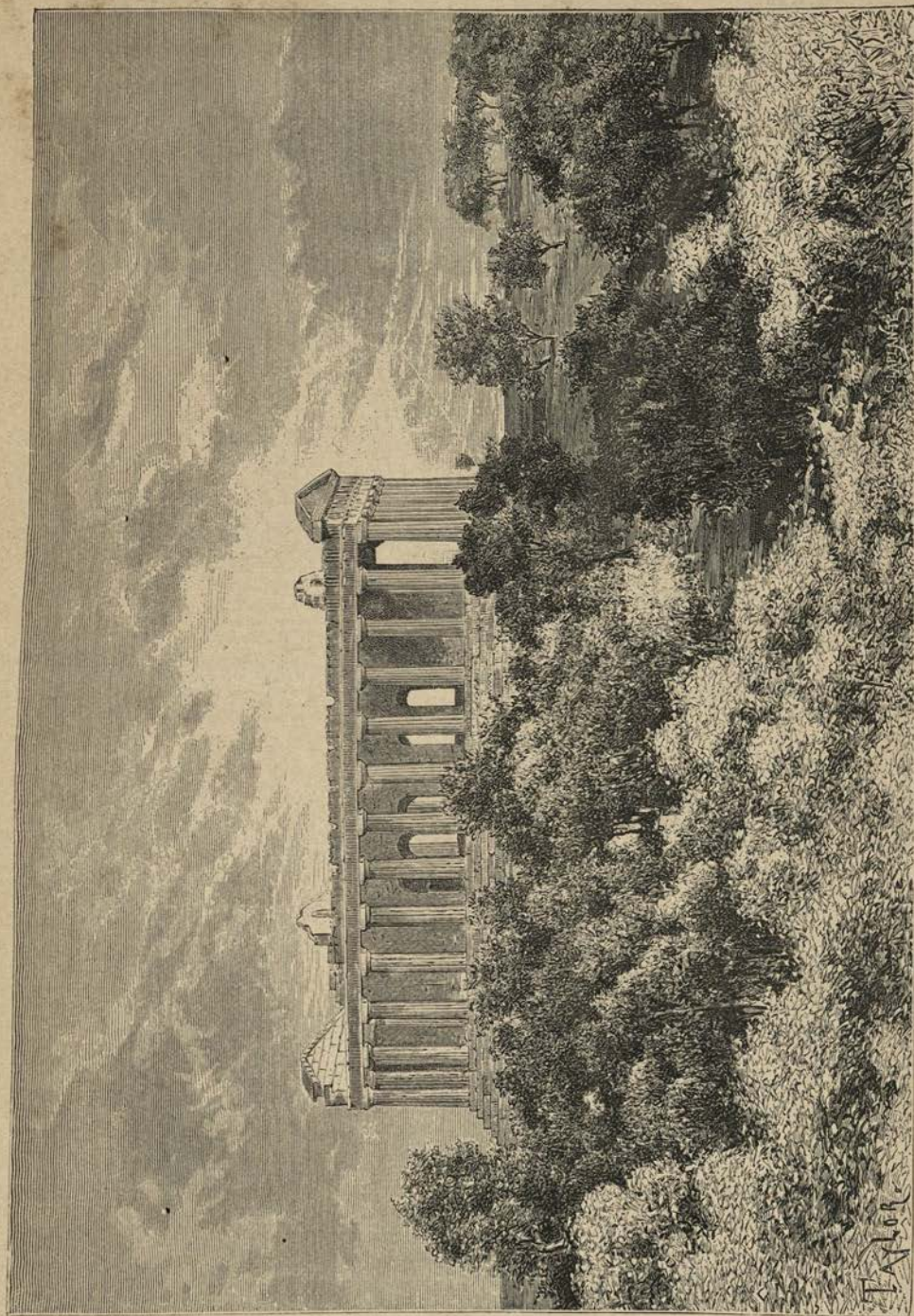
¹ The head of a lion, with a branch of laurel on the left. On the reverse, the name of the town *PEFINOZ*, in ancient Greek backwards. Jupiter sitting; an eagle under the seat of the god; the whole surrounded with a wreath of laurel. Tetradrachma of Rhegium.

² *ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑ* (boustrophedon, see p. 38, n. 1). Head of a woman with a head-band; on the back, a dog drinking. A silver didrachma of Segesta.

³ Diodorus (xxiii. 5) said 150,000 drachmas, Polybius 100 talents, Orosius and Eutropius 200. [The prisoners restored were those taken in the defeat of Ap. Claudius.—*Ed.*]

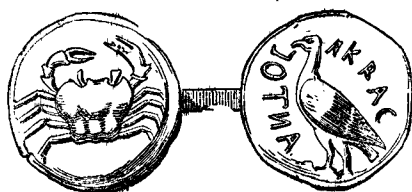
⁴ See Idyll xvi., especially lines 82-97—

ἔχθρὸς ἐκ νάσοιο κακὰ πέμψειν ἀνάγκα
 Σαρδόνιον κατὰ κύμα . . .
 ἄγρους δ' ἐργάζονται τεθελότας, αἱ δ' ἀνάρημοι
 μήλων χιλιάδες βοτάνῃ διαπιανθεῖσαι
 ἄρ' πεδῖον βληχοῖντο, βόες δ' ἀγελῆδόν ἐς αὐλιν
 ἄρ' ἔχνη δ' εἰς ὕπλ' ἀρίχνη
 λεπτὰ διανησαντο, βοῶς δ' ἐτι μηδ' ὄνομ' εἴη.

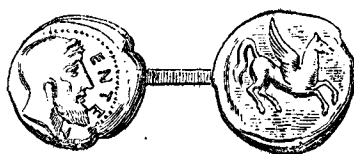


Temple of Concord (?) at Girgeni.

18 stadia, or about 2 miles—had not rendered its re-victualling impossible.¹ The Romans besieged it. Not knowing yet how to take a place by the aid of engines of war, which the Greeks had long since used, they established themselves at the east and west of the town in two camps, which a double line of defences protected against sorties, and succours from without. There they stayed for seven months, until famine opened the gates for them. Without Hiero, they would themselves, more than once, have suffered from scarcity. Hannibal, the son of Gisco, defended the place with a strong garrison; the provisions therein diminished the more quickly. Carthage sent an army to succour it under Hanno, who seized on Heraclea and Herbessus, where the two consuls kept their stores; the convoys of Hiero maintained abundance in the Roman camp, and Hanno was compelled to risk a battle, which he lost in spite of his elephants. Since the time of Pyrrhus the legions no longer feared these clumsy engines of war. They killed thirty of them, and took eleven alive. Profiting by the darkness of a winter's night, and by the negligence of the sentinels rendered over-confident by the late victory, Hannibal crossed the Roman lines with a part of his troops. The unfortunate town was sacked by the conquerors, who sold as slaves twenty-five thousand of its inhabitants. These three campaigns and this long siege had already tried the finances of Carthage, and she was for a while compelled to stop the pay of her mercenaries. To get rid of the too spirited complaints of four thousand Gauls, who threatened to go over to the enemy, a Carthaginian general promised them the pillage of Entella. They hastened thither; but he had secretly warned the Roman general



Coin of Agrigentum.



Coin of Entella.

¹ [The site of Agrigentum is peculiar. It is a great oval plateau, with scarped edges, laid on the slope of a hill, and reaching from the summit half way to the sea. Along the lower edge of this plateau there is a splendid row of temples, from which you look over the descending slope to the sea. Syracuse has similar features on its land side, that is to say, at the summit of the slope there is the same kind of steep rock, protecting the city from the land side. Pindar seems to have thought Agrigentum the most beautiful of Greek towns.—*Ed.*]

and the Gauls, having fallen into an ambuscade, were killed almost to a man. The legionaries were also without pay; but not a complaint was heard among the army of citizens. Before Agrigentum, a number of soldiers suffered themselves to be killed at the gates of the camp to give the dispersed legions the time to rally, and if any quarrels arose between them and their allies, it was to obtain the most perilous post in the battle.¹

From the third year of the war, Carthage possessed only some maritime places in Sicily. But her fleets ravaged the coasts of Italy, closed the Straits, and rendered all conquest precarious.² The senate understood that it must attack the enemy on his own element (261). Thus their object was enlarged, as it constantly receded. It was at first to prevent the Carthaginians from getting possession of Messina; then to drive them from the island; now the senate wished to sweep them from the sea.

III.—MARITIME OPERATIONS; LANDING OF THE ROMANS IN AFRICA (260-255).

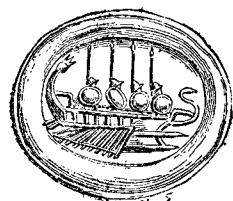
The Romans were not so ignorant of maritime affairs as has been supposed. They were acquainted with the construction and the management of triremes; it must be remembered that the appearance of a Roman fleet into the harbour of Tarentum had provoked the war with Pyrrhus. But they did not like the sea; they distrusted the "treacherous element," and as their military life was spent on land, they had no permanent fleet, although they elected magistrates, *duumviri navales*,³ to watch over the maintenance of a fixed naval stock. Also, when they had need of vessels, they demanded them of their Etruscan and Greek subjects. But in the struggle against Carthage they had need of ships of the line, that is to say, vessels with high bulwarks and five ranks of rowers. A Carthaginian quinquereme, which had foundered on the coast of Italy, served as a model. Such was then the imperfection of this art, which has become so

¹ Polybius, i. 17.

² [Hence Pliny (xvi. 192) says they built a fleet in 45 days against Hiero, viz. 263 B.C.—*Ed.*]

³ [Viz. *duumviri classis ornandæ reficiendæque causa*, in 311 B.C.—*Ed.*]

difficult, that two months sufficed to fell the wood, build and launch one hundred and twenty ships, and to form and train the crews.¹ All these sailors were not novices; the allies had furnished many seamen and experienced pilots. They nevertheless, needed courage to make an attack with such a fleet on the first maritime power in the world. The consul Cornelius Scipio, was taken, it is true, with seventeen vessels, in an attempt on the Æolian Islands (Lipari); but his colleague Duillius defeated near Mylæ (Milazzo), the Carthaginian fleet (260).



War-ship with a Double Beak-head.²

In the naval battles of antiquity, the vessels armed with a ram at the prow, sought to strike each other at the water-line; the lightness of the ship, and the activity of the sailors were then, as at present, the first conditions of success, and the galley-slaves did more than the soldiers embarked on board, ordinarily few in number. Athens used to put but ten on their triremes with 200 rowers.³ After the first campaign the military genius of the Romans invented a new form of tactics. Their vessels, roughly constructed of green timber, were heavy machines, which could however, by the aid of oars, be forced straight at the enemy. At the bows of the ship Duillius placed a gangway,⁴ which, falling upon an enemy's galley, seized it with its grappling-iron, held it fast and made a causeway for the soldiers. The science of the Carthaginian pilots became useless; it was a mere land battle in which the legionaries regained their advantage, and Duillius had as many as a hundred and twenty on board each ship.⁶ When the Carthaginians saw the Roman



Beak-head of a Ship.⁵

¹ A few months suffice the Carthaginians to open a new outlet to their internal harbour and to build a fleet with the debris of their houses. One cannot but be astonished at an art remaining so long in its infancy, which was practised by so many people.

² Engraved gem of the Museum of Berlin.

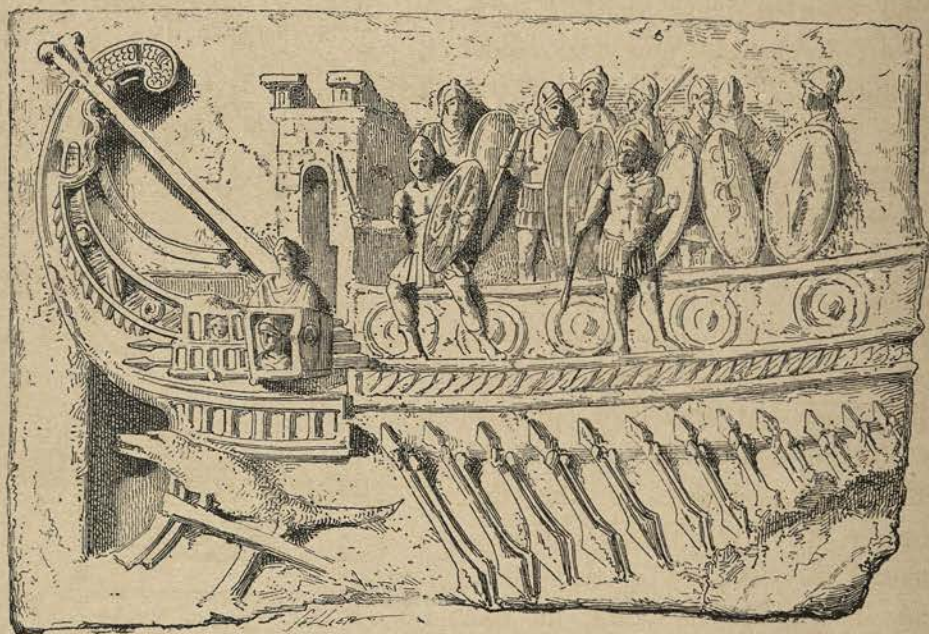
³ During the Peloponnesian war. Thucyd. ii, 23, 102; iii, 91, 95 and iv. 76, 101. Cf. Böeckh, *Staatsh.*, vol. i. p. 390.

⁴ According to the description, a little obscure, of Polybius, this bridge, which was called *corvus*, and which worked all round, and used at the prow, stern or at the sides.

⁵ Reverse of a sextans of bronze of the town of Tudor.

⁶ There was less than this number at Ecnomus (Polyb., i. 5). Others give 200 as the number of soldiers Duillius put on board each ship.

fleet advancing, they came on as if to certain victory. Thirty ships, which formed the vanguard, reached it first. Seized by the crews, not one escaped. The admiral's galley, with seven rows of oars, was itself taken, and Hannibal, the ancient defender of Agrigentum, who was on board, had but time to escape in a boat. He directed, however, his other galleys to the flank and astern of the Roman vessels. But, despite the rapidity of their



Roman Galley. (Cast from Museum of S. Germain.)

evolutions, they always met in front of them the formidable crew. Twenty galleys more were taken: three thousand men were killed, and six thousand prisoners; the rest fled terror-struck. The land army raised in all haste the siege of Segesta; the troops, which were defending Macella, allowed the place to be taken by storm, and the Carthaginian general, having retired to Sardinia with some troops, was crucified there by the mutinous mercenaries.

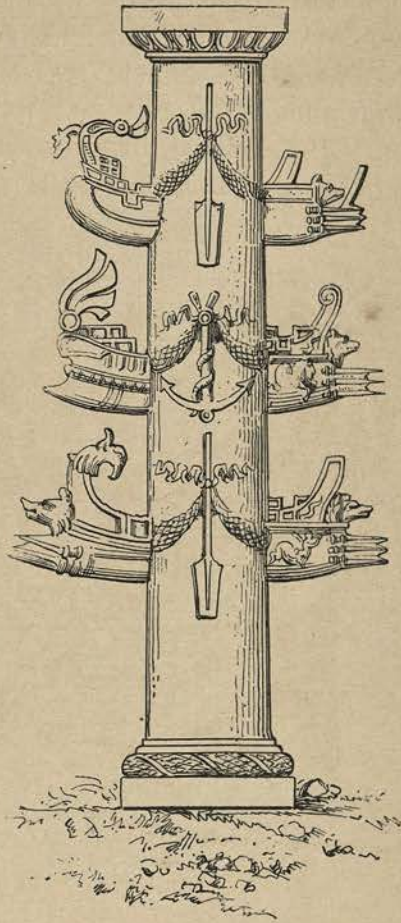
These successes were the material result of the victory; but there was a greater. The prestige of the maritime superiority of Carthage was dispelled, and whatever disasters befell the Roman fleets in the future did not cause the senate to give up the sea. It knew now that Carthage could be conquered, and the late events made them understand that the conquest

of islands must be accomplished by sea. Already it was directing a fleet against Sardinia, and it was meditating an attack on Africa: very unusual honours were given to Duillius. Besides the triumph, he had a column in the Forum, and the right of being escorted home in the evening by torch-light and the sound of flutes. The simplicity of this time knew no better way of honouring the first conqueror of Carthage.¹

After the victory of Mylæ, the Romans had divided their forces; while the land army succoured Segesta, the consul Corn. Scipio, with a part of the fleet, pursued as far as Sardinia the vessels which had escaped at the first disaster, destroyed them, and commenced the conquest of that island and of Corsica, of which he took the capital, Aleria. Caught, on his return, in a stormy sea, he dedicated a sanctuary to *Tempestas*, and desired that on his tomb there might be preserved the two fold remembrance of his conquest, and of the protection with which this peculiar deity had sheltered him:

Hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem
Dedit Tempestatibus aidem merito.

Carthage sent then to Panormus a great general, Amilear. By skilful manœuvres, he enclosed the legions in a defile, whence



Rostral Column of Duillius.²

¹ Florus Fl. 2, and Val. Maximus speak of these honours bestowed on himself by Duillius. The inscription of his rostral column would be one of the oldest monuments of the Latin language, if the text, which we have, had not been repaired towards the middle of the first century of our era, when the monument was restored.

² Restoration of Canina, vol. iv. p. 264. This monument of one of the greatest victories of Rome is actually disgraced by a street lamp!

they were only able to escape through the devotion of Calpurnius Flamma. He was a legionary tribune, who offered to occupy, with four hundred men, a hill, from whence he could cover the retreat, and stop the enemy. "I give my life to thee and to the republic," said he to the consul. All fell except the tribune, who was found alive, under a heap of corpses. He received a crown of grass. "At that time," says Pliny, "it was the highest reward."¹ Cato compares him to Leonidas, and complains of the caprice of fortune which has left his name in obscurity. He forgot that it is the end for which we die, which gives immortality to the victim. Calpurnius, like so many soldiers in our annals, saved only one legion (258); Leonidas had saved his country, the whole of Greece, and the civilization of the world.

Notwithstanding, the war languished; Amilcar destroyed the town of Eryx, of which he left standing only the temple, built, it was said, in honour of his divine mother, Venus Erycina, whom the Phœnicians confounded with their goddess Astarte.

He carried the population to Drepanum, and concentrated his forces in that town and in Lilybæum, two inexpugnable places, the approaches to which were protected by the sea, and by several cities, which the Carthaginians still occupied on the coasts and in the interior.

The fortune of Rome seemed declining, and some dangerous defections resulted. In the centre of the island, Enna, the sacred town whose civic divinity Ceres was honoured throughout Sicily, on the southern coast the great city of Camarina, and even Agrigentum, came round to the Carthaginians. If the legions had returned to Rome at the end of the summer, according to custom, and had not wintered in the island, all would have been lost. But the consul of 258 retook the lost places, putting to death the principal citizens and selling the rest. It was the custom, and was



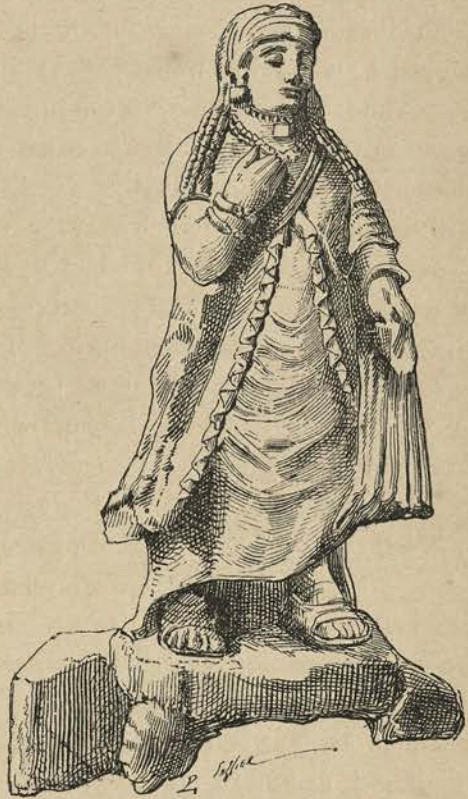
Venus Erycina.²

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxii. 11; Aul. Gell. (iii. 7) calls him Cæcidius, others Laberius.

² On the obverse, Venus Erycina, diademed, and crowned with myrtle or laurel, and the inscription, C. CONSIDI. NONIANI. S. C. On the reverse, ERVC, and the temple of Venus. Silver money of the family Considia. The coin represents the temple at the summit of the hill with the deep enclosure, which surrounded it, and which the artist, to render his drawing lighter, has represented as open work.

practised on both sides. Among the ancients, when the city fell, the individuals perished. Fortune destroyed, family lost, no home, no household gods; yesterday enjoying the honours of the patriciate, to-morrow in the miseries of slavery; such was the lot of the conquered, when on the day of defeat they had not fallen beneath the sword of the soldier or under the axe of the lictor. By way of compensation the fierce character of war gave to patriotism an energy long since passed away.

These successes in the interior of the island, and a fresh naval battle, which the consul Atilius claimed to have gained near Lipari, decided the senate to the boldest enterprise. Three hundred and thirty vessels were equipped, one hundred thousand seamen and soldiers, and the two consuls, Manlius Vulso, and Atilius Regulus embarked with the determination of passing through the Carthaginian fleet, and making an attack on Africa.

Astarte.¹

The two fleets met off Ecnomus.² It was the greatest spectacle

¹ Statuette found in Phœnicia (Cf. *Acad. des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, 7th series, vol. xix., No. 4, p. 1., fig. 2), and which does not give a very great superiority to the artists of the metropolis over those of Carthage. "The goddess is standing in full dress. On the forehead a rich fillet. The hair falls in many tresses behind and on each side. On the neck two symbolical necklaces; a circle shut by a square bezel, and a triple row of pearls. The bare forearm is ornamented up to the wrists with open bracelets, closing by a clasp, the two ends of which are decorated with heads of antelopes. An upper dress made of a supple and fine material, opens in front, forming on each side symmetrical little folds. Sleeves with clasps cover the top of the arm. The robe, falling from the neck to the feet, covers the heels, and is provided with a train which the left hand holds, and brings to the front. The bare feet have sandals with straps. The whole of this dress is heavy and seems strange. The goddess thus resembles the *squaw* of a Red-skin." (Georges Colonna Ceccaldi, *Revue archéol. de janvier*, 1878, p. 16, note 1.)

² A mountain between Gela and Agrigentum.

the Mediterranean had yet seen; three hundred thousand men were about to fight on its waves. The Roman armament in the form of a triangle, which surrounded the transport ships, could not be forced, and the Carthaginians, despite a clever manœuvre to draw into the high sea the van of the hostile fleet, and to separate it from its powerful rear-guard, lost ninety-four ships out of three hundred and fifty; twenty-four Roman galleys only were sunk (256).

The remains of the conquered army fled to Carthage. Some vessels were equipped there in all haste, and troops raised to guard the coast. But the greatest confusion still reigned in the town, when it was learnt that the Romans, having disembarked near the promontory of Mercury (Cape Bon), were already besieging Clypea. Regulus had only taken sufficient time to repair his disabled ships, and to get provisions. The troops began to



Regulus.

be afraid of a war in Africa, that land of monsters whence such terrible tales reached them, *Africa portentosa*; ¹ even a tribune had dared to murmur. Regulus threatened him with the axe, and the army, despite its superstitious fears, set out. Clypea having been taken, and no position, no army protecting the country, the Romans spread over these rich plains, which, since Agathocles,

had not seen an enemy, and whose fertility was secured by a good system of irrigation. In a few days they took twenty thousand prisoners and immense booty.

The senate, deceived by its first successes, recalled Manlius and his legions; it was a mistake. Regulus himself, it was said, had requested to return, because the farmer, whom he had left to cultivate a field of seven acres, his sole patrimony, had run away and taken the plough and oxen. The senate replied that all would be re-purchased for him, his field cultivated, and his wife and children kept at the expense of the treasury. He remained in Africa with fifteen thousand men and five hundred horses. These forces were sufficient for him to defeat the enemy on all sides, to

¹ Livy xxxiv. 62. Such is the suspicious history of the serpent of Bagradas, 120 feet long, and whose head, sent to Rome, was still shown there in the time of the Numantian war. Cf. Flor., ii. 2. Polybius does not mention it. However, such large serpents now exist in the highlands of Algeria, that it may only have been an exaggerated fact.

take three hundred towns and seize Tunis, three leagues from Carthage, after a victory near Adys, which cost the Carthaginians seventeen thousand killed, five hundred prisoners, and eighteen elephants. The town was hard pressed. From the amount of tribute imposed on Leptis Parva—a talent a day—we can understand that the yoke of Carthage was heavy. In consequence of these defeats the subjects revolted, and the Numidians plundered that which had escaped the Romans; a treaty was proposed. Regulus demanded the abandonment of Sicily and Sardinia, an annual tribute, the giving up of the Roman prisoners, the ransom of the Carthaginian captives, the destruction of the whole fleet of war, the promise to make neither alliance nor war without the consent of the senate, etc. Such conditions offered no inducement for treating; the war was resumed.¹ The fanaticism of the people was excited by human sacrifices, and vessels laden with gold went to Greece and Spain to buy soldiers. Among the mercenaries which came from Greece was the Lacedæmonian Xanthippus. Carthage had still twelve thousand infantry,² four thousand horse, and one hundred elephants. The Lacedæmonian undertook, with this army, which he carefully drilled for some weeks, to fight the enemy. “The question is only,” said he, “to find a field of battle which may suit us.” Instead of pitching his camp on the heights where the elephants and cavalry were useless, he descended into the plain; and the legions, disordered by the elephants, and charged by a numerous cavalry, fell into confusion, two thousand only escaped by reaching Clypea. Regulus and five hundred of the bravest were made prisoners; the rest perished. Xanthippus, richly rewarded, left the town before gratitude had given place to envy.³

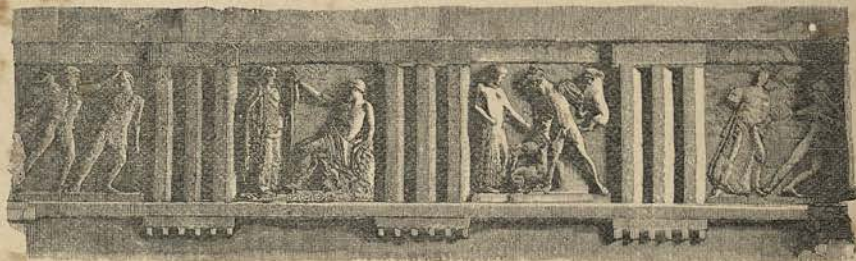
Carthage was saved. However, the victorious army was

¹ [This whole campaign shows the extraordinary helplessness of Carthage, owing to the counter-suspensions of its oligarchical factions, and the gross incompetence of Regulus, who, if he had used the Numidian cavalry, ought to have carried the day. Amilcar had been recalled from Sicily, but was only joint commander with two others. Surely such a general was as well able to defeat Regulus, as a Greek mercenary. So the demands of Regulus, who had no siege-train, were as severe as those demanded by Scipio at the end of the 2nd Punic war. Nothing is stranger, than that such a man should have been exalted into a national hero.—*Ed.*]

² [These numbers are probably lessened to increase the glory of Xanthippus.—*Ed.*]

³ The Carthaginians have been accused of having drowned him. (Zonaras, viii. 13; Silius Ital., vi. 632); but they had no interest in this crime contradicted elsewhere by Polybius.

repulsed at the siege of Clypea, and a Carthaginian fleet was again beaten in sight of this place. But the destruction of the whole of an army, the capture of a consul, and the difficulty of crossing incessantly a stormy sea, in order to re-victual the legions of Clypea, decided the senate to relinquish Africa. At the same time a frightful disaster closed the way. Two hundred and seventy galleys were shattered by a tempest along the coasts of Camarina; it was nearly the whole fleet. The Carthaginians hastened to put down their rebel subjects; the chiefs were crucified; the towns gave 1000 talents and twenty thousand oxen; then the preparations were pushed forward with vigour for carrying the war again into Sicily (255).



Frieze of Selinus, taken from photographs, dating about 460 B.C. (see pp. 484-486).

IV.—THE WAR IS CARRIED BACK INTO SICILY (254-241).

A new fleet, a new army, and one hundred and forty elephants set out from Carthage. Agrigentum was retaken. On her side, Rome, in three months, built two hundred and twenty galleys, and the consuls, proceeding along the northern coast of Sicily, took by treachery the strong position of Cephalœdium,¹ and that of Panormus, which gave them an excellent port. Those of the inhabitants of Panormus, who were unable to pay a ransom of two silver minæ (200 drachmas, or nearly eight guineas) were sold as slaves. There were thirteen thousand of them.

The following year the fleet ravaged the coast of Africa, but

¹ It was built on a steep promontory, whence its Greek name signifying head; it is now Cefalu.

a tempest on its return again destroyed one hundred and fifty vessels near Cape Palinurus, on the coast of Lucania (253). These repeated disasters seemed a menace of the gods; the senate gave up the sea, as it had given up Africa.

The two adversaries, wearied out by the struggle which had already lasted eleven years, rested on their arms; the Carthaginians, in a strong position, which they occupied at the western extremity of Sicily; the legions, at some distance in the rear, on the heights, from which they watched the enemy. This inaction became detrimental to the Roman discipline. It was necessary at one time to degrade four hundred *equites*, who had refused to obey the consul; at another time to make a military tribune of the illustrious house of Valerius run the gauntlet.¹ Car-

thage, on her side, occupied without doubt in reconstituting in Africa her rule, which the Roman invasion had shattered, confined herself in Sicily to a prudent defensive. She



Coin of Cephaloedium.⁴

even made no effort in 252 to prevent Scipio, who was conquered in the first naval action, from taking his revenge at Lipari, by seizing upon this island with the ships lent by the faithful Hiero. The blow was a severe one, for from Lipari her privateers incessantly came forth, ravaging the Italian coasts. Accordingly the year after, Carthage made a vigorous effort. Hasdrubal, with two hundred vessels, carrying thirty thousand men, and one hundred and forty elephants, attempted to retake Panormus. The pro-consul, Metellus, kept his army shut up there; but, by means of his light troops, he challenged the enemy, and drew them to the foot of the wall; and while the elephants, pierced with darts, rushed furiously back on the Carthaginian



Coin Commemorative of the Victory of Metellus.³

¹ Val. Max., II. ix. 7; Front, Strat., iv. The knights were degraded to the rank of *ævarii*. In 252 Aurelius Pecuniola having, in the absence of the consul, Cotta, his cousin, permitted the burning of a redoubt, and almost lost his camp before Lipari, Cotta had him flogged and reduced him to the rank of a common soldier. (Val. Max., II. vii. 4.)

² Head of Jupiter, crowned with laurel; on the reverse, ΚΕΦΑ. Goat-skin, club and quiver. Bronze money.

³ METELLUS in a car drawn by elephants, and crowned by Victory. The reverse, of a piece of silver money of the Cæcilian family

army, which they threw into disorder, Metellus attacked with all his forces. Twenty thousand Africans perished; one hundred and four elephants were taken; they were conducted to Rome, where



Metope from the latest Temple at Selinus.¹

they followed the car of the conqueror, and as it was found too expensive to keep them, they were hunted down in the great circus that the people by familiarity might cease to dread them (251).

On his return to Carthage, the incapable Hasdrubal was crucified. At Rome Metellus received great honour; he was twice made consul, dictator, sovereign pontiff, and when, in a fire in the temple of Vesta, he

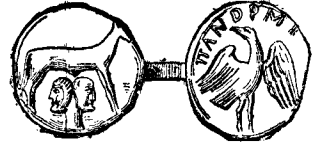
lost his eyes in saving the Palladium, the people gave him the right, which none had up to this time obtained, of going in his car to the senate. In the funeral oration, which the son of the conqueror of Panormus delivered in honour of his father, we can see what a Roman of this time esteemed as the sovereign good. "He attained," he said, "and in perfection, ten very great things, which the wise pass their life in seeking. He wished to be the best soldier, the first of orators, the ablest of generals, the most eminent of senators, and he desired to conduct under his auspices the gravest affairs, to attain to the highest magistracies, to supreme political wisdom, and a great fortune acquired by honourable means, and finally to leave behind him many children, and to be the most respected of all his fellow citizens."² This is the ideal of Roman virtue. It is not a very elevated one; but, if it did not make sages, in the true sense of the word, it made great citizens.

Many noble Carthaginians had been made prisoners before

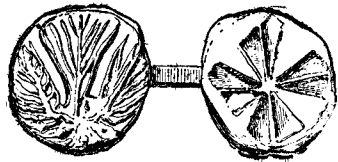
¹ It represents Heracles fighting an Amazon. The setting of the extant sculptures is the restoration in the museum at Palermo.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 45.

Panormus; others had long been so. The Carthaginians, we are told, proposed an exchange, and sent Regulus to Rome to support their demand. That general had nobly borne his captivity. He was unwilling to enter the city: "I am no longer a citizen," said he, as Postumius had said after the Caudine Forks; and when he spoke on the proposal, he dissuaded the senators from accepting it. They tried to move him to have pity on himself: "My days are numbered," said he; "they have given me a slow poison;" and he set out on his return, repelling the embraces of his wife, Marcia, and his children.

Coin of Panormus.¹

Horace has celebrated this mythical story, so dear to Roman pride: "It is said that he held his manly countenance bent towards the ground until his heroic counsel had fixed the hesitations of the senate. Then, noble exile! he quitted his family in tears, though he knew what

Coin of Selinontum.²

tortures the African executioners were preparing for him. He waved aside the friends who would have detained him and the populace which opposed his departure as if, after having brought the long business matters of his clients to an end, he were going to seek relaxation in the fields of Venafrum or Tarentum."³ On his return to Carthage he died, it is affirmed, a cruel death.⁴ If this tradition be true, in spite of the silence of Polybius, we must not forget either the treatment inflicted by the Romans themselves on hostile chiefs who fell into their power, or that other tradition, according to which two Carthaginian generals were given up to Marcia and by her cruelly tortured.⁵

Polybius reproaches Regulus with not having known how to guard himself against the inconstancy of fortune, with having

¹ Double head under a horse. On the reverse, PANORMI . . . , and an eagle. Bronze coin of Palermo (Panormus).

² Parsley leaf. On the reverse, a square hollowed in compartments. Silver coin of Selinus; very ancient.

³ *Carm.*, iii. v.; Cf. *Sil. Ital.*, *Pun.*, vi. 346-385.

⁴ *Resectis palpebris, illigatum in machina, vigilando, necaverunt.* (Cic., in *Pison.*, 18.)

⁵ *Diod.*, *Fragm. de Virt. et Vit.*, xxiv.; *Aulus Gell.*, vii. 4; *Zonaras*, viii. 15, etc. [It is

imposed too severe conditions, etc. No doubt he would have been wiser to restrain himself within bounds; but what general would have acted otherwise? It was by aiming at a very lofty ideal, often even above their powers, that the Romans did such great things. A nation does not become great by merely being always a nation of wise men.



Zeus and Here (see p. 482).

The victory of Panormus put an end to the great battles. The Carthaginians once more fell back to the western extremity of the island, to Drepanum and Lilybæum, whither they transported all the inhabitants of Selinus, after having destroyed their town. Lilybæum surrounded on two sides by a sea rendered danger-

ous even to the most skilful pilots by sand-banks, reefs just beneath the surface, and rapid currents, was shut in on the land side by a high wall, and defended by a very wide and deep ditch. In the autumn of the year 250, two consuls, four legions, and two hundred ships of war blockaded the place, and a new siege of Troy began. The Romans at first tried to close the entry to the port by sinking fifteen vessels loaded with stones there, but the current swept them all away. The passage remained open, and fifty vessels, bearing provisions and ten thousand soldiers to Lilybæum, were able to pass through it under the very eyes of the powerless Roman fleet. On the land side the Romans in several places filled up the ditch and mined the walls, but when their battering rams had made a breach they found themselves faced by another wall which Himilco had raised. Some mercenaries plotted the surrender of the town; Himilco

now generally surmised that the legend of the tortures of Regulus arose from the desire to palliate the disgrace of these tortures, which seem well established, and were actually stopped by State interference. Regulus is said in other traditions to have spent several years at Carthage, and to have died there. The re-appointment as consul, and the triumph, of the Scipio surprised and captured at Lipari refutes the poetical nonsense of Horace.—*Ed.*]

discovered the conspiracy, and burnt the engines of the Romans in a sortie, thus obliging them to change the siege into a blockade. When the new consul, P. Claudius, son of Appius the censor, came to take the command, sickness had already carried off many of the soldiers. The Carthaginian fleet was stationed in the neighbouring port of Drepanum. Claudius wished to fall upon it by



Remains of Selinus.

surprise. The omens were sinister; the sacred chickens refused to eat. "Well, let them drink, then," said the consul, and he had them thrown into the sea. The army was beaten beforehand by this impious act, which Claudius could not repair by the cleverest manœuvres:¹ ninety-three vessels taken or sunk, eight thousand men killed, and twenty thousand prisoners—such were the results of the battle of Drepanum (249). Junius Pullus, the colleague of Claudius, had no better fortune. He was at Syracuse with eight hundred merchant vessels destined for the revictualling of

¹ Polybius knows nothing of this story of the sacred chickens, but Cicero relates it.

the camp at Lilybæum. Carthalo, who watched his departure from the coast of Agrigentum, first intercepted several convoys, and then by a clever manœuvre drove the whole of Junius's fleet into the midst of the reefs of Camarina, where furious winds broke it up, while he himself, running before the storm, went and sheltered his vessels behind Cape Pachynum. All the transports and a hundred and five galleys had been destroyed. The occupation of the high hill near Drepanum, on which stood the fortified temple of Venus Erycina, was not compensation for so many sad losses.

The disaster of the year 249, the saddest in all the war for



Metope of Temple at Selinus (now at Palermo).

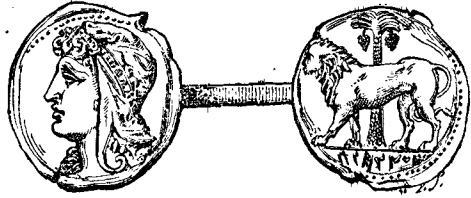
Rome, compelled the senate again to renounce the idea of fleets. Claudius was recalled and obliged to name a dictator. He chose the son of a freedman, named Claudius Gliecia, his client and clerk. The senate annulled the insulting choice, and a sentence passed by the people severely punished this bold contemner of things human and divine. Junius, accused, like his colleague, of having despised the auspices, killed himself before his con-

demnation; Claudius had, perhaps, set him the example of a voluntary death. Three years laterwards another sentence struck the haughty race. The sister of Claudius, finding herself one day pressed by the crowd, cried, "Would it might please the gods that my brother should still command the armies of the republic." The ædiles punished this homicidal wish with a fine.

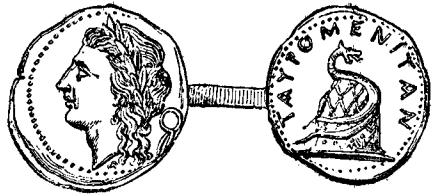
By a singular fatality, at the time when Rome could no longer find any but incapable leaders, Carthage placed able generals at the head of her forces—Himilco, the defender of Lilybæum; Hannibal, who had so successfully revictualled that place; Adherbal, the conqueror of Drepanum; Carthalo, who, before destroying

¹ [This very archaic sculpture is one of the most remarkable remains of nascent Greek art, and dates from the 7th century B.C. It represents Heracles carrying off the Kerkopes.—*Ed.*]

Junius' fleet, had burnt a part of that before Lilybæum and ravaged the coasts of Italy; and, finally, the greatest of all, Amilcar, father of Hannibal, surnamed Lightning, *Barca*. Unfortunately, discipline was often wanting in these armies of Carthage, and a violent se-

Coin of Ercte.¹

dition of the mercenaries had just brought her into the greatest peril. Amilcar found means to satisfy their requirements. He led them to the pillage of Italy. When the booty gained in Bruttium had won him their confidence, he boldly advanced and took possession of Mount Ercte (Monte Pellegrino), near Panormus (247).³ For six years all the strength of the two republics was concentrated in this corner

Coin of Tauromenium.²

of Sicily; the Romans were at Panormus, on the summit of Mount Eryx,⁴ in the ancient town of that name, and before Lilybæum and Drepanum. The Carthaginians occupied these two places and Mount Ercte. From the top of this almost inaccessible mountain Amilcar watched all the enemy's movements, and swept quickly down from it to intercept his convoys, cut up his detachments, and carry his ravages to the very heart of the island; or, again, from the port at the foot of his mountain he set sail with a fleet of light vessels and ravaged the Italian coast as far as the middle

¹ Bust of a woman. On the reverse, a lion before a palm tree. Below, a Punic legend signifying "of the people of the camp." This was a coin struck for the pay of the troops, *moneta castrensis*. It was struck in Sicily, but engraved by an artist, who did not know Punic, for the inscription is written the wrong way. M. De Sauley, who has kindly furnished me with this note, does not believe that this silver tetradrachm attributed to Ercte by the Duc de Luynes belonged to that town, or, at least, it was not struck there during Amilcar's occupation.

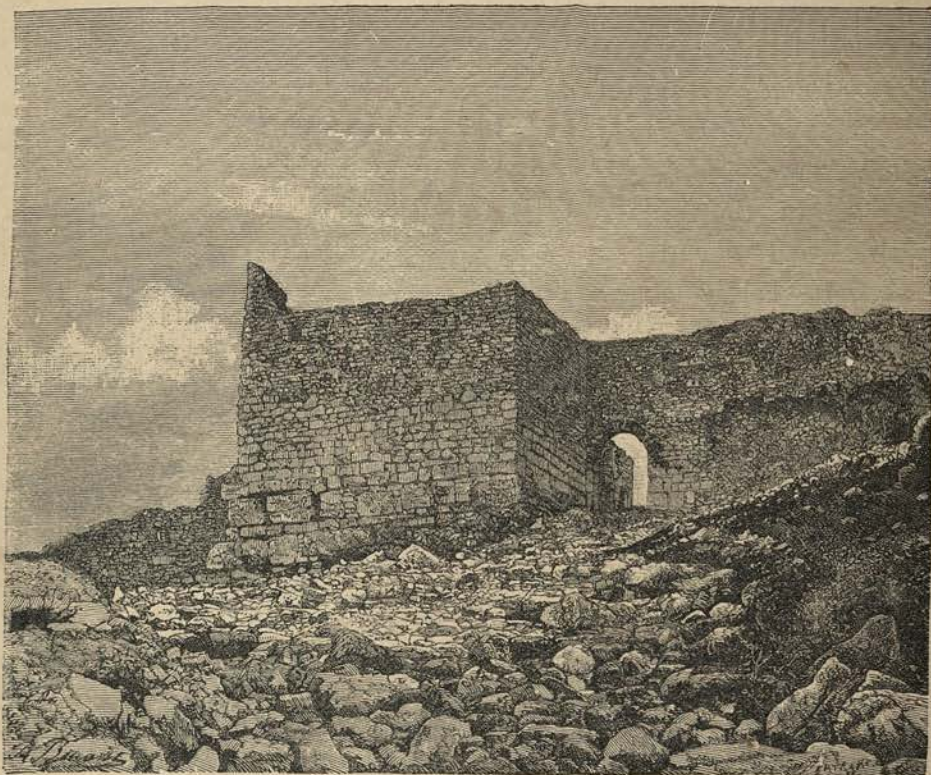
² Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. On the reverse, TAYPOMENITAN, and a serpent round a vase, called *cortina*. Silver coin.

³ Mount Ercte, the foot of which is washed by the sea, is protected on its flanks by sharp rocks, and separated from the mountains which run west of Panormus by a broad plain, so that it forms a vast natural fortress rising above the town to a height of 2,000 feet.

⁴ Mount Eryx, at 6 miles from Drepanum, is only 2,180 feet high, but its isolated situation makes it appear much loftier. It was a still stronger position than Mount Ercte. On the summit of the mountain was the temple of Venus Erycina. The town was built half way up.

of Campania.¹ For six years there were continual and bloody fights. They were like two athletes of equal strength wrestling on a rock high above the waves.²

The armies were but a few stadia apart; they drew still nearer. Amilcar took the town of Eryx by surprise, and placed



Remains of the Town of Eryx.³

himself between the two Roman camps established at the base and on the summit of the mountain. The war advanced none the quicker; an equal tenacity paralysed every effort. At last the soldiers, weary of useless conflicts, and each side esteeming equally the valour of the other, “plaited,” says Polybius,⁴ “the sacred crown,” which was offered to the gods when the victory remained undecided, and abstained by common accord from fighting.

¹ These cruises obliged the senate to found several maritime colonies at Alsium, Fregellæ, and Brundisium.

² Polybius, i. 56, 57.

³ Taken from *Momun. della Sicilia* of Fr. Cavallari, parte 1^a, tav. 26. There is no more mention of Eryx in Roman history after its destruction by Amilcar.

⁴ Polybius, i. 58.

Since the commencement of hostilities the Romans had lost many more galleys than the Carthaginians; but for Rome, a continental power, vessels were but so much wood and iron, which were easily replaced, whereas for Carthage, a maritime and com-



View from Mt. Eryx (Monte san Giuliano).¹

mercial power, they were strength and riches. The one then was like a ship struck in a vital part, the other like a fortress, of which only a few battlements had fallen. This was plainly seen when, in 241, the senate decided upon a fresh effort. In order to avoid expenses which no longer appeared necessary, and to pass them over to their commercial fleets, the merchants of Carthage had disarmed all their remaining war vessels, and leaving Amilcar alone to keep in check from his mountain-top all the forces of Rome, they had resumed their long voyages, their business relations with the whole world. They willingly forgot that devastated island, without industry or commerce, whence there came only

¹ Taken from the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. (See page 489, note 4.)

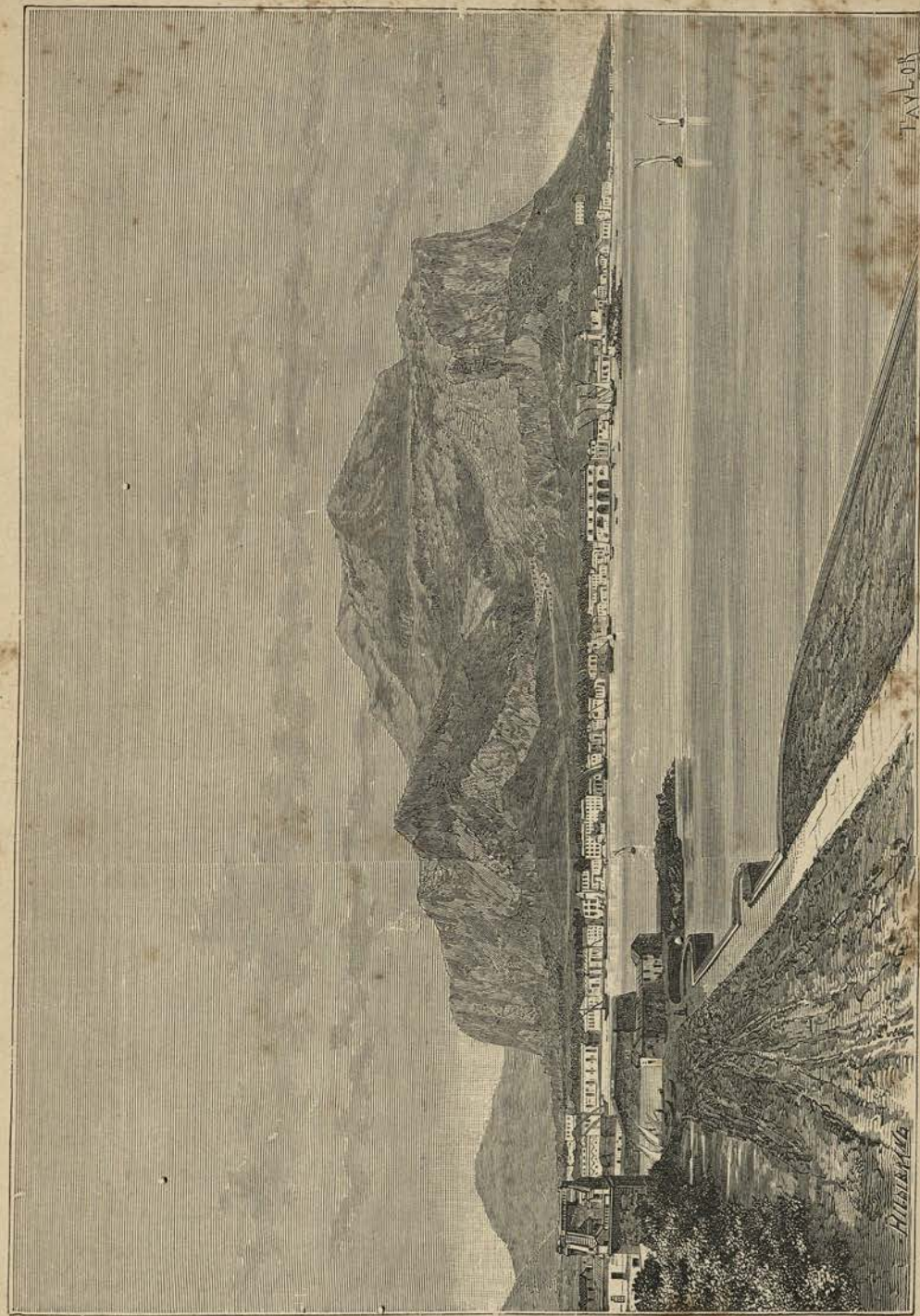
troublesome sounds of warfare and ceaseless demands for money. The sea remained free, but a Roman fleet reappeared. It had been necessary to make an appeal to the devotion of the citizens to build it. The treasury was empty; patriotism, that wealth which excels all other, replenished it. The rich lent money to the State, or built vessels at their own expense. Many armed privateers.¹ Two hundred vessels were once more launched. Lutatius took the command and led them to Drepanum. It was near



Greek Tomb-reliefs (now in the museum of Palermo).

the end of winter. The fleet, which for economical reasons the Carthaginians recalled during that season, had not yet returned, so that Lutatius had no difficulty in making himself master of the port, and closely beleaguering the place. Carthage in all haste sent ships laden with provisions, but with no soldiers, as the admiral was to take on board Amilcar's veterans. In order to reach Ercte he had to pass before Drepanum; Lutatius barred the way by placing himself near the Ægates. "Never was fought a more furious naval battle," says Florus. "The Carthaginian vessels were overladen with provisions, arms, and engines of all kinds. The Roman fleet, on the other hand, brisk, active, and light, resembled a land army. It was like a cavalry action. Our ships obeyed the oar as a horse does the bit, and with their movable

¹ Zonar., viii. 16.



Mount Erete (Monte Pellegrino), near Palermo (Panormus). See p. 489, n. 3.

beaks darted so well, now against one vessel, now another, that they might have been living creatures." Lutatius sank five of these defenceless ships and took seventy (10th March, 241). The Romans became undisputed masters of the sea again, and Drepanum, Lilybæum, and Amilcar could be starved into surrender. Moreover, twenty-four years of war, expense, and sufferings were enough—nay, too much—for these merchants, for the third time they asked to treat for peace. Lutatius was anxious that Amilcar should lay down his arms. "Never," replied the indignant hero, "will I lay down these arms that were given me to fight against you." The consul agreed to allow the Carthaginian army to evacuate Sicily freely. Peace was signed on the following conditions: Carthage should not attack Hiero or his allies; she should abandon Sicily and the Æolian Islands; should restore all prisoners without ransom, and pay 3,200 Euboic talents (nearly £760,000) within ten years.



Archaic Metope from Selinus.¹

"Thus ended the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians regarding Sicily, after lasting twenty-four years' without interruption; the longest and most important war of which we have ever heard. . . . Some Greeks assure us that the Romans owe their successes only to fortune. But after having prepared themselves for great enterprises by expeditions of such importance, they had nothing better to do than to propose to themselves the conquest of the universe, and this project was likely to be successful."² Polybius is right; and if he could have been shown beforehand how much blood, how many tears, and what ruin were necessary to

¹ It represents Perseus, aided by Athene, cutting off Medusa's head, and is of the same age as that given on p. 488.

² Polybius, i. 63. That historian is the principal source of information concerning this war.

erect the edifice of Roman greatness, he would doubtless have replied: "Before Rome as much blood had flowed, without her, more would have flowed." Indeed, after her final victory, she allowed none to be shed for centuries.



This African elephant differs from the Asiatic one in height, which is less, and his ears, which are larger, being as much as 4 feet 5 inches in length, and 4 feet in breadth. Livingstone saw a negro shelter himself from the rain beneath this strange cover. The ancient engraver has faithfully reproduced this characteristic feature.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONQUESTS OF ROME AND CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS (240-219).

I.—ROMAN EXPEDITIONS ROUND ITALY AND INTO GALLIA CISALPINA.

ROME had just displayed an admirable constancy; but it seemed as though, after such long efforts, she must be exhausted. The population had, in the space of five years, fallen from 297,797 fighting men to 241,212.¹ Seven hundred war-ships had been destroyed, with an immense number of ships of burden;² the treasury was swamped with debts to private persons who had advanced money; and, in order to furnish means for so burdensome a war, the senate had been obliged to have recourse to the dangerous expedient of debasing the currency. The weight of the *as* had been successively reduced from 12 ounces to 6, 4, 3, and 2, and as the State, on account of its armaments, was the universal debtor, this depreciation of the coinage gave it a profit of five-sixths of its debts, or more than 80 per cent., an operation which, as far as its creditors were concerned, was equivalent to an actual bankruptcy.⁴ There was the same diminution of weight in the silver coinage. In 269, forty denarii went



Silver Denarius of 16 *Ases*.³

¹ Livy, *Epit.*, xviii. and xix. The latter figure—241,212—is that of the year 247. The loss of the Romans during this war has been set down at 200,000 men.

² Polybius, i. 63.

³ On the obverse, head of Rome or Pallas; behind, the mark xvi. On the reverse, C. TITINI, and in the exergue, ROMA; Victory in a biga. Silver denarius of the Titinian family.

⁴ *Ita quinque partes lucri factæ dissolutumque æs alienum.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 13.)

to the pound; in 244, seventy-five; in 241, eighty-four, though the denarius always represented ten ases.¹

But the strength of Rome did not consist in its wealth; as for the populace, the foundation of several colonies, a very liberal distribution of land, and the formation, in 241, of two new tribes, *Velina* and *Quirina*, reconstituted the class of small proprietors which the war had decimated.² Accordingly, Rome soon found herself ready for fresh wars.

The first Punic war had cost Carthage Sicily and the empire of the sea; this was too great a shame and loss to be endured;



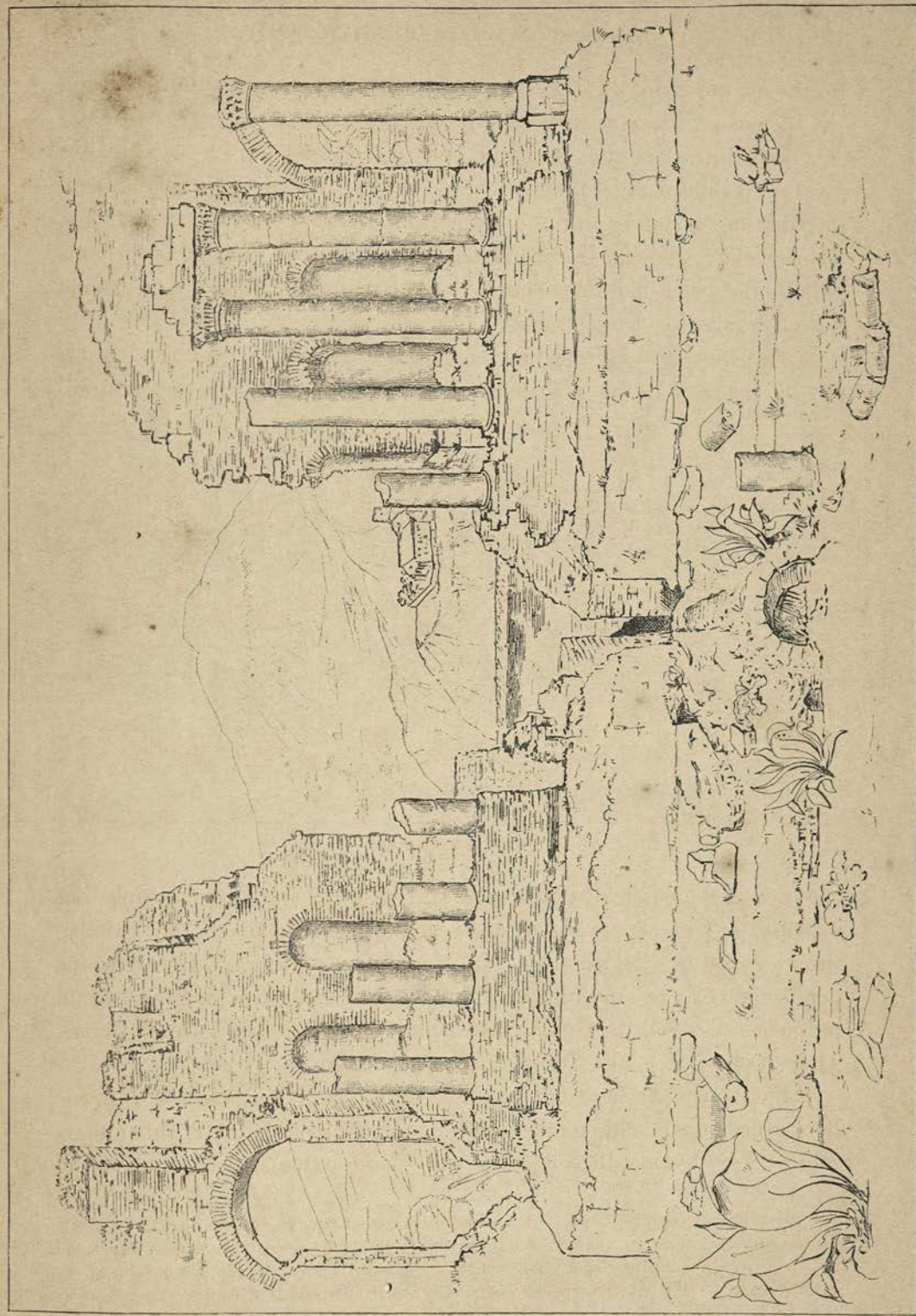
Etna, from Taormina.

the peace which had just been signed was, in fact, nothing but a truce. The senate understood this, and employed the twenty-three years of its duration in fortifying their position in the peninsula by occupying all the points from which it could be menaced—Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyria. They desired to make Italy a fortress.

Sicily, the theatre of the first Punic war, had seen her towns by turns taken and retaken, often pillaged, and their inhabitants sold. For twenty-three years she had exhausted her fields to

¹ But the *as* was then at two ounces. In 216 it is no longer more than one ounce; in 89, half an ounce. Yet during the republic, though the weight was altered, the name was not, and the coins were almost free from alloy. M. D'Arcet found 983 to be the mean value of the silver coinage. The silver denarius was originally worth 10 pounds of copper, *dena*, hence its name.

² This distribution, the date of which is uncertain, but which must have occurred at the



Teatro Greco, Taormina.

support fleets and armies which sometimes counted more than two hundred thousand men; but this land, so admirably fertile, soon repaired its losses. The senate hastened to declare it a Roman *province*; ¹ this was a new condition. It was not needful, in point of fact, to employ with the Sicilians the same political caution as the Romans had used with the nations of Italy. Now that the centre of their empire was protected by municipalities, colonies, and allies, there must be outside nothing but *subjects* liable to taxation and drudgery.² Lutatius disarmed all the inhabitants, and made part of it public domain, and two hundred towns only recovered their territory on condition of paying a tribute, to be fixed every year by the Roman censors, and the tithe of all the products of the soil; often, indeed, the senate exacted a double tithe. Lutatius also wrote the *formula*, giving the subject cities a uniform organisation, in which, following the example of Rome, aristocratic principles predominated. Each year a prætor was sent into the new province with absolute power, from which there was no appeal till after its execution. True to its maxim of never laying an equal yoke on all, the senate accorded privileges to certain chosen towns, which were few in number, however, for Sicily was too rich for Rome to deprive herself of the right of despoiling it at leisure. Thus Panormus, Egesta, Centuripa, Halæsa, and Halicyæ were free, and exempt from the tribute, but bound to military service; the little republic of Tauromenium and that of the Mamertines remained independent, as was the kingdom of Syracuse; later on, too, there were colonies. Messina owed that favour to the part it played in the first Punic war; Syracuse to the long fidelity of Hiero. As for Tauromenium, built on a mountain 900

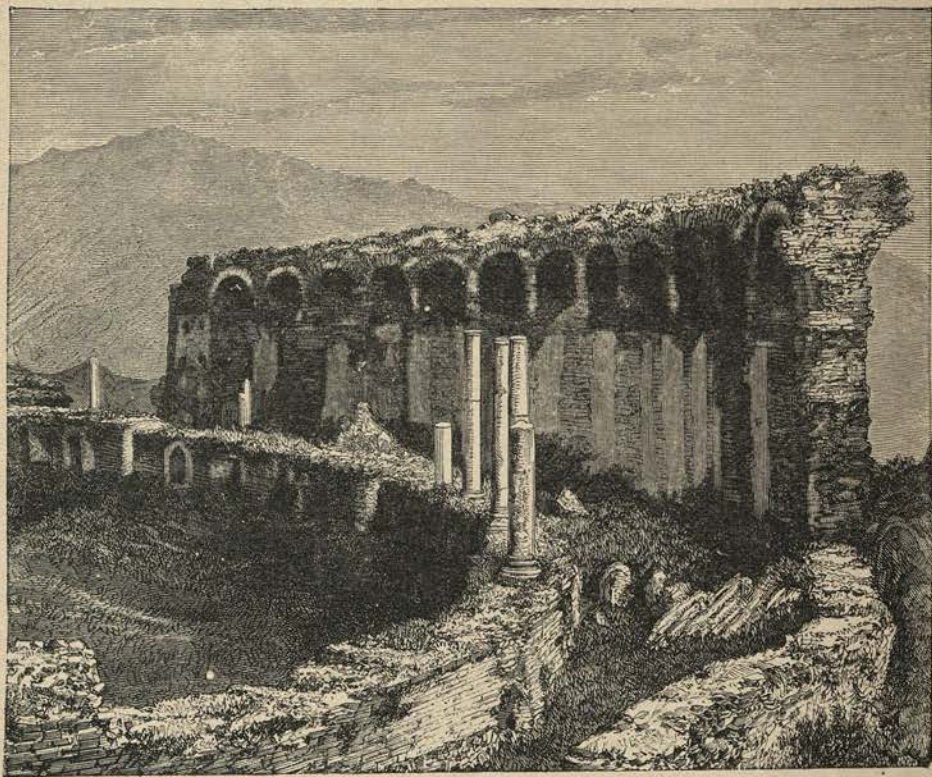
end or in the last days of the first Punic war, was so great that fifteen commissioners were needed for the division. Among them Pliny (vii. 45) names L. Metellus, the conqueror of Panormus.

¹ Festus derives this word from *provcit*, for *ante vicit*; Niebuhr from *proventus*. In the former case the word province would have reminded men that the Romans claimed to exercise in the provinces all the rights of conquest; in the second, that the provinces, not having the right to possess arms, would serve the sovereign State in an exclusively financial manner. But *provincia* more especially denotes an office which one has engaged upon oath to fulfil, and consequently the object of that office; thus it means the duty of holding elections (Livy, xxxv. 20) to manage the water supply (Cic., in *Vat.* §5). The formal organization of the province of Sicily did not take place till 227 B.C.

² Livy, xxxi. 31: *civitates stipendiarias ac vectigales*. We will return to the subject of the condition of these provinces later on.

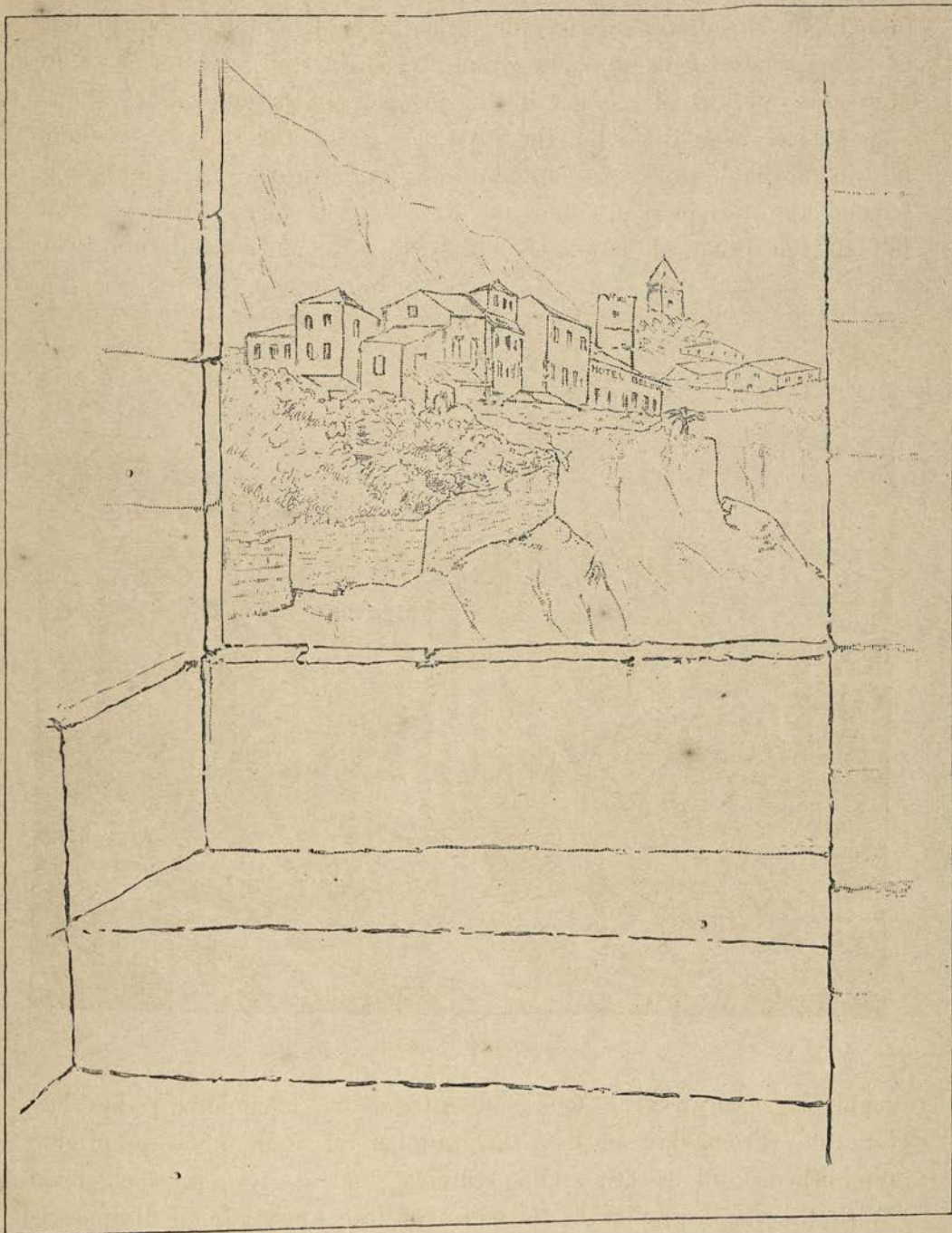
feet above the sea, and defended by a citadel built 492 feet higher, on an almost inaccessible rock, it had doubtless displayed in those times the sentiments which it manifested in later days to Marcellus, and which gained it the title of *civitas fœderata*.

As had been done for the greater part of the Italians, so here it was forbidden to the inhabitants to acquire any possessions beyond the territory of their cities. Thence there came a great fall in the price of land, of which the Roman speculators, who



Theatre of Taormina.

could buy anywhere, took advantage to monopolize the best estates. From day to day the number of indigenous proprietors diminished, and Cicero could scarcely find a few in each town. With the small properties, the class of free husbandmen disappeared from the whole island. Immense farms, cultivated for rich Roman knights by an innumerable multitude of slaves—harvests, but no more poets or artists; such is henceforth the state of Sicily. Having become the granary of Rome, she saves the people and



View of Taormina from a Loggia of Dominican Convent.

army from famine more than once. But from her bosom, too, there issue the Servile wars, the cruel expiation of impolitic measures. It is a law of humanity—evil breeds evil. We have seen it in our own days in Ireland, which has long been, from analogous causes, a thorn in England's side.

Sardinia and Corsica were acquired at the cost of a piece of



treachery. At the news that the mercenaries of Carthage, who had been led back from Sicily into Africa, had revolted,¹ those left in Sardinia had massacred their leaders and all the Carthaginians in the island; a rising of the inhabitants against this soldiery obliged it to put itself under the protection of Rome. The senate,

¹ See p. 522.

which had supported the soldiers in Africa in their revolt by allowing provisions to be taken to them from all the ports of Italy,¹ did not hesitate to take advantage of the embarrassment of their rival to declare that as the rule of Carthage had ceased in the island, they could, without a breach of treaty, take possession of Sardinia. Then, on the report that Carthage was making some preparations, they pretended to think that Italy was threatened, and declared war. Their wrath was appeased by the offer of 1,200 talents, and the abandonment of Sardinia. It was still necessary to conquer the Sardinians, whom their old masters probably supported in secret. The senate employed eight years over it, and two consuls came back thence to triumph. One of these, Pomponius Matho, in order to track the islanders to their remotest retreats, had made use of dogs trained to hunt men, an expedient which the Spaniards renewed in the new world. This conquest ended, as it had begun, by hateful means.

Corsica shared the fate of the neighbouring island; the senate declared it a Roman province; in reality it preserved that liberty which no enemy dared to spoil, in the depths of its impenetrable coverts.² Too wild and too poor to furnish tribute in wheat, like Sardinia, Corsica paid it in the honey of its bees; it promised 100,000 pounds of it.³ The creation of these two provinces obliged the number of prætors to be raised to four; two, the *prætor urbanus* and the *prætor peregrinus*, remained at Rome; the other two were appointed, one to govern Sicily, the other Sardinia and Corsica (227 B.C.).

Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica being subdued, the Tyrrhenian Sea became a Roman lake. On the other sea the coast was guarded from Rimini to Brundisium by six colonies.⁴ But the coast of Illyria, with its numberless islands, has been inhabited in all ages by dangerous pirates. At the time of which we are speaking the Adriatic was infested with them. Nothing passed without paying toll; the coasts of Greece were ceaselessly

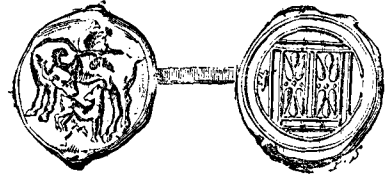
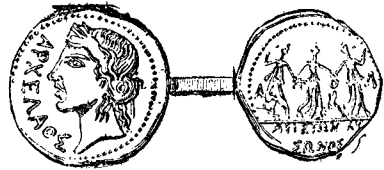
¹ Polybius, i. 83. They forbade it when the mercenaries were on the point of triumphing.

² Livy says even of the Sardinians in the time of Augustus: *gente ne nunc quidem pacata*. (xi. 34.)

³ Val. Max., iii. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xv. 29.

⁴ Ariminum, Sena, Hatria, Castrum Novum, Firmum, Brundisium.

devastated, those of Italy threatened.¹ A few years previously they had beaten the Ætolians and Epirotes, taken Phœnice, the richest town in Epirus, pillaged Elis and Messenia, and drawn the Acarnanians into alliance with them. On complaints being raised on all sides, the senate sent ambassadors to Teuta, the widow of their last king, who governed a part of Illyria in the name of her son Pineus.² She proudly replied that it was not the custom of the kings of Illyria to forbid their subjects to cruise for their own profit. At these words, the youngest of the deputies, one Coruncanius, replied: "With us, queen, the custom is never to leave unpunished the wrongs suffered by our fellow-citizens, and we will so do, if it please the gods, that you yourself will set about reforming the customs of the Illyrian kings." Teuta, in irritation, caused the bold youth to be slain, with those who had promoted this Roman embassy, and had the commanders of the vessels which had brought it burnt alive. Then the pirating began again with more boldness than before; Coreyra was taken, Epidamnus and Apollonia besieged, and an Achæan fleet beaten.

Coin of Coreyra.³Coin of Apollonia.⁴

This was a good opportunity for the Romans to show themselves to the Greeks. The senate saw what advantage they might derive from these events, and loftily assumed the character of protector of Greece,⁵ which they played to the last with so much

¹ Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, iii. 26) calls an Illyrian tribe, the Vardæi, *populatores quondam Italie*.

² Ἀγρων ἢ βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν μέρουσ. (Appian, *Illyr.*, 7.)

³ Cow suckling her calf. On the reverse, K backwards, the initial letter of the name of Coreyra. Plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs, celebrated by Homer. Silver coin of Coreyra.

⁴ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ. Head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΑΥΣΩΝΟΣ, the names of two magistrates. Three girls dancing; between them we read, ΑΠΟΛ. Silver drachma of Apollonia in Illyria.

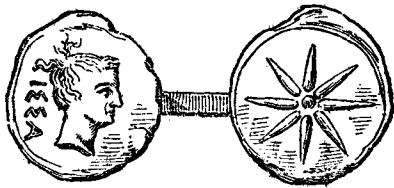
⁵ Two years later they also took the Greeks of Saguntum under their protection. In the year 267 they had concluded an alliance with the Apollonians (Livy, *Epit.*, xv.), and in 237, on the demand of the Acarnanians, they had ordered the Ætolians to respect Acarnania, the only country in all Greece, said their ambassadors, which had not taken part in the Trojan war! (Just., xxviii. 1 and 2.)

success. In order to give a great idea of their power, they sent against these miserable enemies two hundred vessels, twenty thousand legionaries, and the two consuls (229). They had not



Coin of Acarnania.¹

done so much against Carthage at first. Coreyra was given up by a traitor, Demetrius; the Illyrians were besieging Issa in the island of the same name (Lissa), they were driven from it, and



Coin of Issa.²

not one of the places that attempted resistance could hold out. Teuta, in affright, yielded all that Rome demanded, a tribute, the cession of a part of Illyria, a promise not to send more than two vessels to sea beyond the Lissus, and the heads of her chief counsellors, in order to appease with the shedding of their blood the irritated manes of the young Coruncanian (228). The Greek towns subdued by the Illyrians, Coreyra and Apollonia, were restored to their independence.³

The consuls hastened to make this treaty known to the Greeks, reminding them that it was for their protection they had crossed the sea. The deputies showed themselves in every town amid the applause of the crowd. At Corinth they were admitted to the Isthmian games, at Athens the citizenship was bestowed on them, and they were initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. Thus began the first [political] relations between Rome and Greece.

The Romans had given Demetrius the island of Pharos and some districts of Illyria. Not considering himself sufficiently

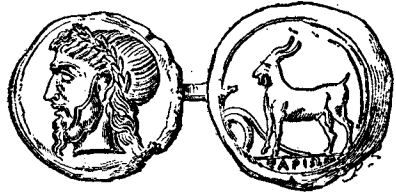
¹ AKAPNANQN. Head of the river Achelous, with two horns, which figure the rapidity of its current or call to mind that he changed himself into a bull to fight Hercules. The hero tore off one of his horns, which became the horn of plenty, a pleasing image of the works executed in order to embank the river and restore vast tracts to agriculture; beneath, a serpent, another symbol of the winding course of the stream. On the reverse, the name of a magistrate, MENNEIAΣ, and behind Apollo, who is seated on a rock, and holds a bow; in the field, a torch. Silver coin of the Acarnanians.

² On the obverse, a woman's head and the name of the town. On the reverse, a star. Bronze coin. Issa was an important island on the Illyrian coast. The Romans, whom it had furnished with the opportunity of acquiring a valuable province, exempted it from all tribute (Livy, xlv. 26), and its inhabitants afterwards received the *jus civitatis*. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 21.)

³ Polybius, ii. 11; Zonaras, viii. 19. Cf. for this war, Appian, *Illyr.*, 7.

recompensed, he joined the corsairs, and led king Pincus into revolt with him. The Gallie war, of which we shall presently speak, was ended, and the senate, free from all disquietude in Italy, was able to send another consul into Illyria.

Demetrius took refuge with the king of Macedonia, whom he soon afterwards induced to take arms against the Romans. and Pineus submitted to the conditions of the former treaty (219). Rome thus possessed good



Coin of Pharos.¹

ports and a vast province on the Greek continent, a kind of outpost, which protected Italy, and threatened Macedonia. The Adriatic was pacified like the Tyrrhenian Sea, and the merchant cities of Italy heartily united themselves with the fortune of a government which gave security and impulse to their commerce.²

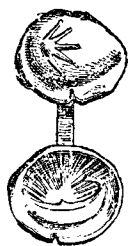
From Sicily to the northern extremities of Umbria and Etruria the Roman sway was accepted, or endured in silence. Beyond the Rubicon and the Apennines all remained free; Cisalpine Gaul, notwithstanding the defeat of the Boii at Lake Vadimon in 283, had not been subjugated. The fertility of these plains, which make Lombardy a garden, astonished Polybius, even after he had seen Sicily and Africa. "Such abundance of grain," says he, "is reaped there when the land is cultivated, that we have seen a measure of wheat at 4 oboli, and one of barley at half that price. A measure of wine is exchanged for an equal measure of barley. Millet grows there in abundance. Numerous woods of oak furnish such quantities of mast that the plains of the Po produce a great part of the pork of which so much is used in Italy, either for the nourishment of the people or the provisioning of the armies. In short, one can satisfy all the needs of life for so small an expenditure that travellers who stop at the hostleries do not offer a separate price for each thing provided, but pay their reckoning

¹ Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter. On the reverse, ΦΑΡΙΩΝ; goat standing before a serpent. Bronze coin of Pharos.

² This commerce was much more considerable than is supposed, and Rome protected it most energetically. The motive of the war declared against Carthage during the mercenary war was the capture of a great number of merchant vessels belonging to Italy, and the piracies of Teuta's subjects on Italian commerce were the first cause of the Illyrian war.

by the head; and it often happens that they settle the whole bill with the fourth part of an obolus.”¹

In this fruitful country the Gallic race had increased with incredible fertility. Cato counted one hundred and two Boian tribes. Polybius, who saw them almost a century after the period to which our story has led us, found them inhabitants of unwalled villages, sleeping on grass or straw, without any furniture, and eating only meat. Warfare was their principal occupation, gold or cattle the only wealth which they esteemed, because they could transport it wherever their adventurous life led them.



Coin of the
Boii.²

Intestine wars, arising from the rivalry of their chiefs, the jealousy of the tribes, the hatred of the Taurini against the Insubres, of the Cenomani against the Boii, of the Venetians against them all, and the lucrative service in the armies of Carthage, which attracted the most restless of these adventurers, had for forty-five years saved the peninsula from the dangers of a Gallic invasion. The repose which the peace of 241 had restored to the world did not suit these campaigners. In 238 two Boian chiefs, supported by the youth of the land, were anxious, in spite of the old men, to drag their nation into a war against Rome. They called in some tribes from the Alps and fell upon Ariminum. But the peace party carried the day; the two chiefs were murdered, their auxiliaries driven away, and calm restored before the legions could reach the frontier.

At this time the expeditions to Sardinia and Illyria had not commenced; the Gauls appeared intimidated, and Carthage was beaten; the senate closed the temple of Janus perhaps for the first time since Numa. Almost immediately troubles broke out on all sides, and Rome again became the city of Mars.

The Ligurians descended from their mountains and pillaged the Etruscan plains; to drive them back again required six years and

¹ Polybius, ii. 15, 17. This picture is to this day partly true. One can live very cheaply in the plain of the Po outside the great hotels, and Bologna sends its sausages all over Europe.

² On the obverse (here represented above), an uncertain object. On the reverse, a rainbow above a boat. Gold coin of the Boii.

the talents of Fabius. This war was only tedious, that against the Boii was dangerous. The senate had forbidden the sale of arms to them, and the tribune, Flaminius, had proposed the division of the land of the Senones, lying along the frontier; which had remained almost deserted since the war of extermination in 283. This proposition was in accordance with the policy of Rome: it relieved the city of its poor, rewarded the veterans of the Punic war, and placed at



Walls of Fæsulæ (Fiesole).¹

the approaches to Cisalpine Gaul a Roman population, which would act as a living rampart against Gallic invasions. But it deprived the nobles of the pastures which they considered as their property; they violently rejected it, and when Flaminius had it voted by the tribes in the comitia, in spite of the opposition of the senate, they accused him of having caused the revolt of the Boii. The latter, terrified at the idea of having the Romans for neighbours, joined with the Insubres, and called in from Transalpine Gaul a formidable army of Gæsates, warriors belonging to various tribes, but united by a common taste for adventures. "Never," says Polybius, "had braver soldiers crossed the Alps." Happily the Cenomani and Venetians betrayed the common cause. Rome had

¹ From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

for a long time come to an understanding with the former; the others had always been hostile to the Cisalpine Gauls. This diversion obliged the confederates to leave a portion of their forces for the protection of their homesteads; the remainder, consisting of 50,000 foot-soldiers and 20,000 horsemen, or soldiers mounted on war-chariots, set out for Rome. The Cisalpines were commanded by Britomar, the Insubrian; the Gæsates, armed with an unpointed sword, sharp only one edge, the *gais*, followed their kings, Concolitan and Anercestus. All had sworn, leaders and soldiers, not to take off their baldrics till they had ascended the Capitol.

Terror was at its height in the town; the Sibylline books were consulted, and demanded the sacrifice of a Gallic man and woman, and a Grecian man and woman. They were buried alive in the midst of the forum Boarium, and the oracle which announced that the Gauls and Greeks should take possession of the Roman soil was thought to be accomplished. But, according to the popular belief, these unhappy beings might after their death become formidable; so, in order to appease their anger, a sacrifice was instituted, which was yearly celebrated "on the Gallic grave." Having thus settled accounts with the gods and the murdered victims, Rome set herself about warding off the danger. Vain terrors did not banish manly resolutions; she trusted to the gods, but especially to herself, and this was what made her so great, in spite of her superstitious spirit.

The senate declared that there was a *tumultus*, and every man fit to carry a sword took arms, even such of the priests as the law dispensed from service; 150,000 soldiers were drawn up before Rome, and 620,000, furnished by the allies, were held in reserve. The Samnites had promised 70,000 foot and 16,000 horse; the Latins, 80,000 foot and 5000 horse; the Iapyges and Messapians, 50,000 foot and 16,000 horse; the Lucanians, 30,000 foot and 3000 horse; the Marsic confederation, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. The Romans and Campanians alone could furnish 273,000 men. Thus, the whole of Italy rose to defend Rome, and drive back the barbarians.

Two routes led from Upper Italy into the valley of the Tiber. In order to close them, one of the consuls stationed himself on

the east of the Apennines before Ariminum; a prætor established himself on the west, near Fæsulæ, with 54,000 Etruscans and Sabines, and the other consular army was recalled in haste from Sardinia, with orders to land at Pisa, and guard the passes of the Apennines in Liguria, if it was not too late. So many precautions and preparations almost turned out useless. The Gauls, crossing the Apennines at a place where the legions did not expect them, left behind them the prætorian army, which guarded the mountain passage on the Umbrian side, and arrived within three days' march of Rome. The prætor had followed them; they turned upon him, killed six thousand of his men, and hemmed in the remains of his legion upon a hill. Fortunately the consul, Æmilius, arrived during the night, having hastened from Ariminum at the news of this bold march. The Gauls, being embarrassed with immense plunder, and many captives, were desirous of placing their acquisitions in safety at home, then to return and engage in battle. This

Etruscan Warrior.¹

resolution was their ruin. They were marching along the coast, followed by Æmilius, in order to reach Liguria, when the consul, Atilius, having landed at Pisa with his legions, fell upon their vanguard near Cape Telamon (near the mouth of the Ombrone). The Gauls were caught between three armies; they stationed their chariots on the flanks to protect them, their booty and captives they placed on a hill in their midst, and whilst the Gæsates and Insubres faced Æmilius in the rear, the Boii and Taurisci resisted the consul Atilius in the front. "It was a strange

¹ From a bas-relief found at Fæsulæ. (Micali, pl. ii. fig. 3.)

sight; innumerable trumpets and the war-cries of the barbarians filled the air with fearful noises which the hills re-echoed, and the great naked bodies were seen violently brandishing their arms. But, if their shouts caused terror, the golden collars and bracelets which loaded their arms and necks gave hope of a rich booty." The consul Atilius was killed in a cavalry skirmish which preceded the general action. The latter was commenced by the archers of the legions, who showered upon the enemy's line a hail of arrows, not one of which was lost, for the Gæsates, who, with ostentatious courage, and in order to be more free in their movements, had stripped off their clothing down to their belts, could not shelter themselves under their small shields. After the archers the infantry, clad in excellent armour, came on at racing speed, and fell to the attack with their short strong swords well sharpened on each edge and at the point. The Gauls, whose sabres bent at every blow, for some time resisted by their mass and their indomitable courage, "If they had had the weapons of the Romans, they would have gained the victory." And Polybius, in so saying, expressed the opinion of the oldest historian of Rome, Fabius Pictor, who had been present at the battle¹ when the Roman cavalry, breaking through the line of chariots, charged them on the flank, and a frightful confusion broke out in the barbarian army, thus pressed from before, behind, and on the side. Forty thousand barbarians were left on the battlefield: ten thousand were made prisoners. One of the Gallie brenns, Concolitan, was taken; another, Anerœstus, slew with his own hand those of his devoted band who had survived the combat, and stabbed himself (225). The fate of Britomar is not known. The captives kept their oath; they ascended to the Capitol wearing their baldries, but preceding the triumphal car of Æmilius. Midway they laid them aside to enter the Tullianum, whence none came out alive.

Rome had been frightened. The senate decided to free Italy from such fears, and in the following year sent the two consuls into Cisalpine Gaul to begin the conquest of it. The Gauls on the south of the Po, enfeebled by the great disaster of Telamon, gave hostages, and delivered up three of their strongholds to the Romans,

¹ *Qui ei bello interfuit.* (Eutrop., iii. 5.)

amongst them Modena (224). But those on the north, the Insubres, met the consuls with vigour, when in the following year the latter for the first time risked the Roman standards on the north bank of the river. The Romans were glad to accept a treaty which allowed them to retire without fighting. They reached the country of the Cenomani, where a few days rest and plenty restored strength to their troops; then, forgetting the treaty, they again entered the Insubrian territory at the foot of the Alps. Fifty thousand men marched against them to avenge this perfidy. They had taken from their temples their sacred flags, the *Immovables*, which were never brought out except in the greatest dangers. Flaminius, one of the consuls, was that former tribune so hateful to the nobles on account of his proposition to distribute the lands of the Senones. The senate, not being able to hinder his election, made the gods speak to annul it; miracles multiplied, and the augurs declared the appointment of Flaminius and his colleague Furius illegal. A decree recalled them; Flaminius received it at the moment of commencing the battle, and took no notice of it; he



Group from the villa Ludovisi.¹

¹ It was long thought that this group represented the death of Arria and Pætus; we dare not assert that the artist wished to consecrate the famous remembrance of the suicide of Anærestus, but it is certainly a barbarian killing his wife and himself after a defeat.

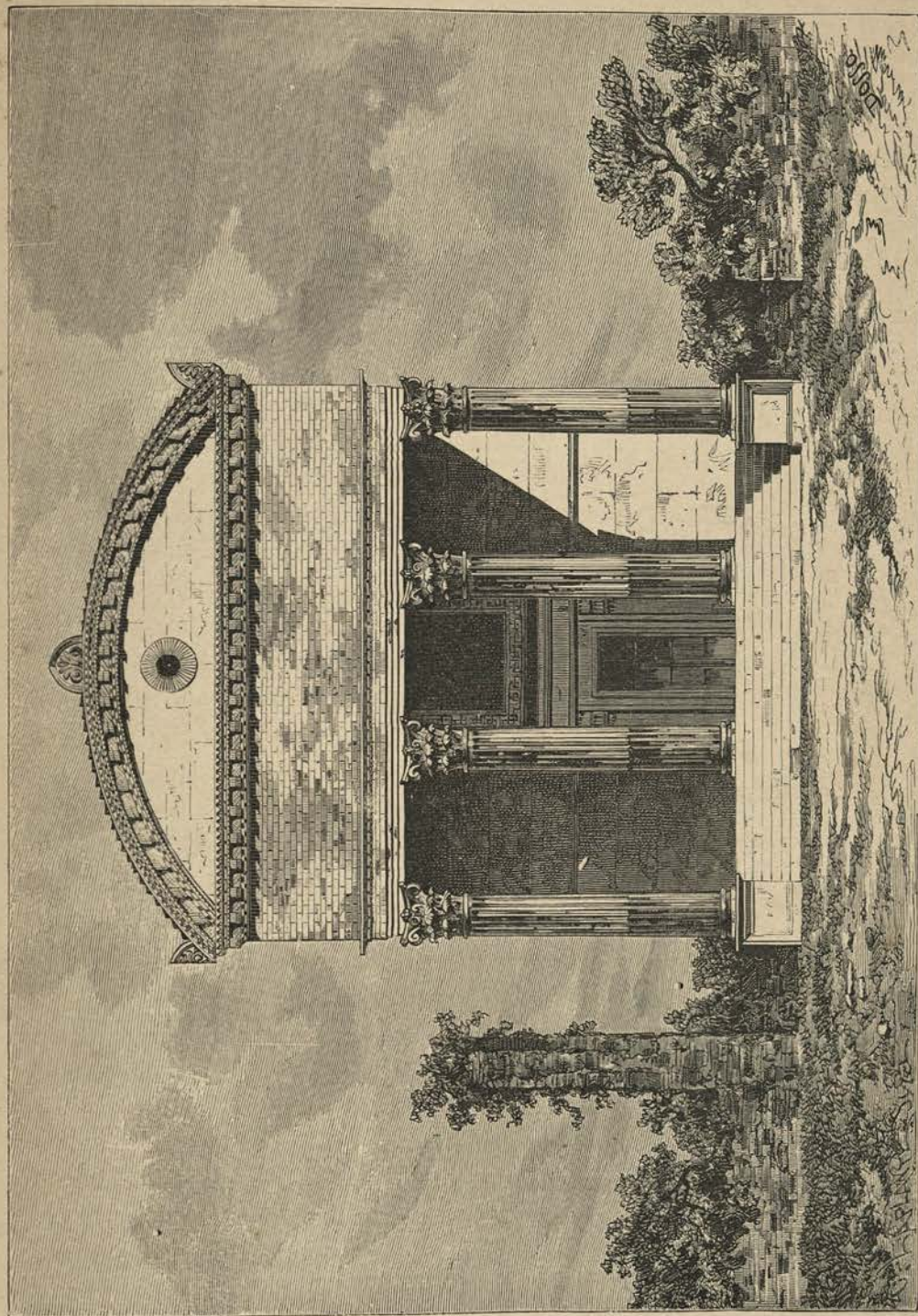
could only escape condemnation by a victory, he impressed the necessity of it upon his soldiers, posting them in front of a deep river, and breaking down the bridges behind them. The swords of the barbarians, badly tempered and pointless, grew blunt and bent easily. After the first blow the soldiers were obliged to press them against the ground and straighten them with their feet. Having observed this at the battle of Cape Telamon, the tribunes distributed the pikes of the *triarii* among the men of the first rank, with orders not to attack with the sword till they saw that the sabres of the Gauls had been bent by striking on the iron of the pike. The Insubres lost eight thousand dead, and ten thousand prisoners (223 B.C.).



Tomb of the gens Furia.¹

They asked for peace, and, on the refusal of the senate, hastily called in from the Transalpine regions thirty thousand Gæsates, commanded by King Viridomar, who came and proudly laid siege to the stronghold of Clastidium, on the south of the Po, which, in the hands of Rome, had become one of the fetters of Cisalpine Gaul. The Roman consul, Marcellus, he who some years later won, against Hannibal, the surname of the *Sword of Rome*, hastened to relieve it. As he was drawing up his line of battle, his horse, frightened by the confused cries of the barbarians, suddenly turned and carried him, in spite of himself, to the rear. With such superstitious soldiers as the Romans were, this natural incident might be taken for a presage of defeat, and might lead to it. Marcellus, on the contrary, turned it to advantage. He pretended to be anxious to accomplish a religious act, made his horse complete the circle, and when he had returned in front of the enemy, worshipped the sun. After that they could fight; it was only one of the ordinary ceremonies of the adoration of the gods. When the king of the Gæsates perceived Marcellus, judging by the splendour of his arms that he must be

¹ The Furii appear to have been originally from Tusculum, where the remains of a tomb of that family are seen.



Temple of Courage (restored).

the chief, he spurred his horse out of the ranks, and challenged him to single combat between the two armies.

The consul had just vowed to Jupiter Feretrius the most beautiful arms that should be taken from the enemy. At the sight of this Gaul, whose armour was resplendent with the blaze of gold, silver, and purple, Marcellus had no doubt that these were the promised spoils, and that the gods had sent the barbarian to fall beneath his blows. He rushed straight at him at the full gallop of his horse, and struck him with his lance right on the breast with such force that the cuirass was pierced, and Viridumar fell. Before he could rise, Marcellus dealt him another blow, then sprang to the ground, tore off his arms, and raising them towards heaven, cried, "Jupiter, receive the spoils which I offer thee, and deign to grant us like fortune in the course of this war." The Romans, excited by the exploit of their leader, fell impetuously on the enemy. After a bloody affray the Gæsates took to flight. Despair seized the Insubres. They yielded themselves to the discretion of the senate, who made them pay a heavy indemnity, and confiscated a part of their territory in order to establish colonies there (222).

All that was most magnificent in the arrangements of the Roman festivals was employed to celebrate the victory of Marcellus, the third who had triumphed with the *spolia opima*. The streets through which the procession was to pass were strewn with flowers, and incense smoked everywhere. A numerous band of musicians led the march; then came the oxen for sacrifice, with their horns gilded, and, after a long string of chariots, bearing the arms taken from the enemy, the Gallic captives, whose high stature and martial bearing struck every eye. A clown, dressed as a woman, and a troop of satyrs, insulted their grief by joyful songs. Finally, amid the smoke of perfumes, there appeared the triumpher, clad in a purple robe embroidered with gold, his head crowned with laurels and his face painted with vermilion like the statues of the gods; on his shoulder he bore the helmet, cuirass, and tunic of Viridumar, arranged round the trunk of an oak. At the sight of this glorious trophy the crowd made the air resound with the cry of "*Triumph! triumph!*" interrupted only by the warrior hymns of the soldiers.

¹ The procession was formed on the Field of Mars, and crossed the Flaminian Circus, the

"As the triumphal car began to turn from the Forum towards the Capitol, Marcellus made a sign, and the flower of the Gallic captives were led to a prison, where the executioners were waiting, and axes prepared; then the procession went, according to custom to wait on the Capitol in the temple of Jupiter till a licitor should bring the news that the barbarians were despatched. Then Marcellus intoned the hymn of praise, and the sacrifice was over. Before leaving the Capitol the triumpher with his own hands planted his trophy in the precincts of the temple. The rest of the day passed in rejoicings, and festivities, and on the morrow perhaps some orator of the senate or people again began the customary declamations against that Gallic race which must be



Marcellus at the Temple of
Jupiter Feretrius.²

exterminated, because it butchered its prisoners and offered the blood of men to its gods."¹

Marcellus had promised on his victory to raise a temple to Honour and Courage. The pontiffs refused to unite the two deities in the same sanctuary. "Should the lightning fall there," said they, "or should some prodigy be manifested, it would be difficult to make the expiations, because it would not be known to which god to offer the sacrifice, and the rites do not permit to immolate the same victim to two deities." Marcellus dedicated the temple to Honour, and built another to Courage, which his son dedicated seventeen years later.³

The defeat of the Insubres advanced the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. In order to consolidate their power there the senate, in 218, sent two colonies, each of six thousand Roman families, to Cremona and Placentia; they were to guard the line of the Po, already defended by Tannetum, Clastidium, and Modena. The

triumphal Gate, where the senators and magistrates awaited it, then the Circus Maximus, and the valley which separated the Caelian from the Palatine, reached the Via Sacra, and arrived at the Capitol by the *clivus Victoriae*. See the plan of Rome.

¹ Amédée Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, i. 257.

² MARCELLINVS. Head of Marcellus. Behind, the *triquetra* (see p. cxii. note 2). On the reverse, MARCELLVS COS. QVINQ. (consul for the fifth time); Marcellus bearing trophy to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Silver denarius of the Claudian family.

³ Livy, xxvii. 25, and xxix. 11.

military road commenced by the censor Flaminius, leading across the Apennines from Rome as far as the middle of the country of the Senones, was continued in order to connect these advanced posts with the great place of Ariminum.¹ Thus the Roman sway drew near the Alps, "that bulwark raised by a divine hand," says Cicero, "for the defence of Italy," and the plough was about to finish the work of the sword in Cisalpine Gaul, when the arrival of Hannibal put a stop to everything.



Honour and
Virtue.²

In 221 the Romans had also occupied Istria; there they were masters of one of the gates of Italy, and they established themselves on the north of Macedonia, which they already menaced on the side of Illyria.

Since the defeat of Pyrrhus they had maintained friendly relations with the kings of Egypt. The latter naturally drew near a people who might some day become a formidable adversary to the enemies that the Ptolemies had in Greece. After the first Punic war Euergetes renewed the alliance that his father had concluded with Rome. The senate offered him troops as auxiliaries against Antiochus of Syria.⁴ He refused them, but remained faithful to his friendship with the Romans.



Ptolemy III., Euergetes.³

II.—CARTHAGE: WARS OF THE MERCENARIES; CONQUEST OF SPAIN.

During these twenty-three years so well employed by Rome Carthage had also extended her empire, but only after having passed through a crisis which nearly destroyed her, and which gave her constitution a lasting shock.

¹ HO. VIR. Laurel-crowned head of Honour, with the helmeted head of Virtue (Valour); beneath, the word KALENI, the surname of the Trufian family, who had this silver coin struck.

² Strabo (v. p. 217) attributes to Æmilius, who was consul in 187, the Æmilian Way, which led from Ariminum to Bononia and Aquileia, going round the marshes, and following the foot of the Alps.

³ Bust of Ptolemy Euergetes, with a sceptre and the aegis. From a gold tetrachma.

⁴ Zonar., viii. 6: Eutrop., iii. 1.

When Amilcar signed the peace with Lutatius, there were in Sicily twenty thousand mercenaries, who had long been paid with nothing but words. When the war was ended they claimed the execution of these promises and their pay. Gisco, the governor of Lilybæum, sent them back to Carthage by detachments, in order to give the senate time to satisfy or disperse them. But the treasury was empty ; all were allowed to arrive, and when they were assembled the distress of the republic was pictured to them, and an appeal was made to their disinterestedness. Yet gold and silver shone on all sides in this opulent metropolis of Africa ; the mercenaries began to pay themselves with their own hands. The senate feared a pillage ; they ordered the officers to lead the army to Sicca, giving each soldier a piece of gold for the most pressing needs. The Carthaginians might have detained their women and children as hostages, but they sent them away that these foreigners might not be tempted to come back in search of them. Then, closing their gates, they believed themselves to be sheltered from all anger behind their high walls.

The mercenaries, says Polybius, whose account we are abridging, met at Sicca. For such troops idleness is an evil counsellor ; they began to reckon and to exaggerate what was owing to them, and what had been promised them in hours of danger ; and in those greedy souls there sprang up vast desires.

Hanno was sent to them, who, instead of bringing gold, asked for sacrifices, speaking humbly of the destitution of the republic. Citizens might have understood this language. The mercenaries grew irritated, and sedition broke out ; first the men of each nation gathered together, then all the nations united. They could not understand each other, but they all agreed in hurling a thousand imprecations. Hanno essayed to speak to the soldiers through their leaders ; the leaders repeated quite different things from what was said to them, and the anger of the crowd increased. "Why, too," asked the mercenaries, "had there been sent them, instead of the generals who had seen them at work, and who knew what was due to them, Hanno, who knew nothing about them ?" They struck their camp, marched upon Carthage, and stopped at 120 stadia from the town, at the place called Tunis.

Carthage had neither soldiers to drive off these barbarians, nor

hostages to stay them. She tried to appease them; she sent them provisions, the price of which they themselves fixed, and deputies who promised that all they might demand should be granted. These proofs of cowardice increased their boldness. They had held their own against the Romans in Sicily, who then would dare to look them in the face? Certainly not the Carthaginians. . . . And every day they invented new demands, laying claims, besides their pay, to the price of their horses that had been killed, and requiring that they should be paid for the provisions owing to them at the exorbitant price they had reached during the war. To put an end to this, Gisco, one of their generals in Sicily, was sent to them, who had always had their interests at heart, and who came with a large quantity of gold. He took the leaders aside, and then assembled each nation separately to give them their pay. An arrangement was almost arrived at; but there was in the army a certain Spendius, a Campanian, formerly a slave at Rome, who feared lest he should be delivered up to his master, and an African named Matho, the principal author of these troubles; they both expected, if an agreement was made, to pay for all. Matho pointed out to the Libyans that when the other nations were gone away, Carthage would let all the weight of her wrath fall on them, and chastise them in such a manner as to frighten their compatriots. A great agitation followed this discourse, and as Gisco put off till another time the payment for

Carthaginian Warrior (?)¹

¹ Bearded warrior, standing, clad in a cuirass, found in Sicily in 1762. He held in his right hand a sword, of which only the hilt remains. Caylus calls it a Carthaginian soldier. Statuette in bronze, 5 inches in height. *Cabinet de France*: No. 2976 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

provisions and horses, the Libyans assembled tumultuously. They would hear only Spendius and Matho; if any other orator attempted to speak, he was immediately stoned. A single word was understood by all these barbarians: Strike! As soon as anyone said Strike! they all struck, and so quickly, that it was impossible to escape. Many soldiers, and even leaders, thus perished; and at length Spendius and Matho were chosen generals.

Gisco knew that if once these ferocious beasts were let loose, Carthage would be lost. At the peril of his life he remained in the camp, trying to bring back the leaders to reason. But one day, when the Africans, who had not received their pay, insolently demanded it, he told them to address themselves to Matho. At these words they fell upon the money, seized Gisco and his companions, and loaded them with chains.

Carthage was in terror. All bruised and bleeding yet from her defeats in Sicily, she had hoped, when peace was once made with Rome, for a little rest and safety, and here was a war breaking out more terrible than ever; for it was no longer a question of Sicily, but of the safety and even the existence of the country. She had neither army nor fleet; her granaries were empty, her treasury exhausted, her allies indifferent or hostile. Her sway over the nations of Africa had been cruel. In the last war she had exacted from the inhabitants of the country half their incomes, and doubled the taxes in the towns; Leptis Parva owed her a talent a day. The poorest could hope for neither grace nor mercy from the Carthaginian governors; for to be popular at Carthage it was necessary to be pitiless towards her subjects, and extract large sums of money from them.

Accordingly, as soon as Matho had stirred up the towns of Africa to revolt, the very women, who had so often seen their husbands and kindred dragged to prison for the payment of the tax, swore among themselves to hide none of their effects; they gave all they had in the way of furniture and ornaments, and money abounded in the camp of the mercenaries. Their troops were augmented by numerous auxiliaries, the army rose to seventy thousand men, with whom they laid siege to Utica and Hippo, the only two towns which had not responded to their appeal.

The Carthaginians at first confided the conduct of the war

to Hanno ; but he twice let slip an occasion to destroy the enemy. Amilcar was put in his place ; with ten thousand men and seventy-five elephants he managed to make the mercenaries raise the siege of Utica, free the approaches of Carthage, and gain a second battle against Spendius. Then the Numidians went over to him, he found himself master of the country, and the mercenaries began to lack provisions. At the same time he showed much mildness with regard to his prisoners. The chiefs feared defections ; in order to prevent them they assembled the army, and brought forward a man who they pretended had just arrived from Sardinia with a letter, in which their friends invited them to keep a close watch upon Gisco and the other prisoners, to mistrust the secret practices going on in the camp in favour of the Carthaginians. Spendius then addressed them, pointing out the perfidious mildness of Amilcar, and the danger of sending back Gisco. He was still speaking when a fresh messenger, who said he had arrived from Tunis, brought another letter in similar terms to the first. Autaritus, chief of the Gauls, declared that there was no safety except in a rupture beyond reparation with the Carthaginians, that all those who spoke otherwise were traitors, and that in order to avoid all agreement it was necessary to slay Gisco and the other prisoners. . . . This Autaritus had the advantage of speaking Phœnician, and thus making himself understood by the greatest number, for the length of the war gradually made Phœnician the common language, and the soldiers generally saluted in that language.

After Autaritus, men of every nation spoke who had obligations towards Gisco, and who demanded that he should be at least spared torture ; as they all spoke together, and each in his own language, nothing they said could be understood ; but as soon as it was perceived what they wished to say, and some one cried, Kill ! kill ! these unhappy intercessors were struck down with stones. Then Gisco was taken with his companions, to the number of seven hundred ; they were led out of the camp, their hands and ears cut off, their legs broken, and they were thrown alive into a ditch. When Amilcar sent to demand at least their corpses, the barbarians declared that the deputies should be treated in the same manner, and proclaimed as law that every Carthaginian prisoner should perish by torture, and that every ally of Carthage

should be sent back with his hands cut off, and this law was vigorously observed. Amilcar in reprisal threw all his prisoners before the elephants.

The affairs of the Carthaginians were assuming a favourable aspect, when sudden reverses threw them back into their earlier state. Sardinia revolted; a tempest sunk a great convoy of provisions; Hippo and Utica went over and murdered their garrisons, and Matho already dreamt of leading his mercenaries to the foot of the walls of Carthage. But Hiero, whom the final victory of this barbarian army would have menaced, afforded all the help that the Carthaginians demanded; even Rome [now] showed herself favourable. The senate restored what remained of the prisoners taken in Sicily, allowed Italian merchants to bear them provisions, and refused the offer of the inhabitants of Utica to give themselves to the Romans. A second time Amilcar drove the mercenaries from the neighbourhood of Carthage, and, with his Numidian cavalry, forced them into the mountains, where he succeeded in enclosing one of their two armies in the defiles of the Axe. There, unable to fight or flee, they found themselves reduced to eating one another. The prisoners and slaves went first; when this resource failed, Spendius, Autaritus and the other leaders, threatened by the multitude, were obliged to ask for a safe conduct to go in search of Amilcar. He did not refuse it, and made an agreement with them that, with the exception of ten men whom he should choose, he would send away the others, leaving each of them a coat. When the treaty was concluded, Amilcar said to the envoys: "*You are among the ten,*" and he detained them. The mercenaries, on learning the arrest of their leaders, thought they were betrayed, and rushed to arms; they were so surrounded, that of forty thousand not one escaped. Meanwhile Matho, who was besieged in Tunis, offered an energetic resistance; in a sortie he captured Hannibal, the colleague of Amilcar, and bound him to the cross of Spendius. Thirty of the principal Carthaginians perished in fearful tortures; but, being drawn into the level country, he was overcome in a great battle, led to Carthage, and given up to the people for their sport.

The *inexpiable war*, as it was called, had lasted three years and four months. "I know not," says Polybius, "that in any other

barbarity and impiety have been carried so far." Man had fallen, as he often does, below the wild beast, which kills to live, but does not torture.

In a commercial republic, which allows itself to be drawn into long wars, there is necessarily formed a military party, whose importance grows with their services, and who end by sacrificing the liberties of the country to their chief. Thus perished the Dutch republic,¹ thus Carthage was to end. Moreover, a constitution must be firmly rooted in a country, not to be shaken by an unsuccessful war. The Carthaginian oligarchy bore the penalty of the disasters of the first Punic war, and the necessity of arming the citizens to resist the mercenaries had still further enfeebled it, by strengthening the popular element. If the inner life of Carthage were better known to us, we should find therein some curious revelations about the two great parties which divided it, and of which historians scarcely give us a glimpse. Perhaps Hanno and his friends, who are represented to us as sold to Rome, or basely jealous of Amilcar and his son, would appear as citizens justly alarmed at the growing favour among the populace and soldiers of a family, which appeared to be invested by hereditary right with the command of the armies, and who threatened Carthage with a military dictatorship. In the first Punic war, Amilcar had rendered immense services; yet Hanno was appointed against the mercenaries. When his incapacity had obliged the senate to yield Amilcar to the desires of the army, another Hanno was appointed as his colleague. But the soldiers drove him away,² and Amilcar replaced him by a general called Hannibal, and, probably of his faction. When he was dead the senate hastened to send Hanno again, with thirty senators to reconcile the two leaders, and keep watch over Amilcar. The hero was compelled to share with his rival the glory of terminating this war. The saviour of Carthage deserved brilliant rewards; he was humiliated by shameful accusations.³ The army and the people were for him; but, either

¹ Hannibal was the future stathouder of Carthage—the Hanno's were its De Witts. It was the same at Syracuse, in all the Greek republics of Sicily, and in all those of Italy in the Middle Ages.

² Polyb., i. 82 βάρκας δὲ παραλαβὼν Ἀννίβαν τὸν στρατηγὸν . . . ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκρινε δεῖν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

³ Corn. Nepos, *Amilcar*.

through patriotism, or a consciousness of the strength which the party which insulted him still retained, or a desire to increase his renown and the influence of his party by fresh victories, he allowed himself to be exiled with his victorious troops, and set out to subdue for Carthage the coasts of Africa and Spain. This conquest would, it was thought, be a compensation for the loss of Corsica and Sardinia.¹

Amilcar spent there nine years, during which, says Polybius, he subdued a great number of nations by arms and by treaties, till he perished in a battle against the Lusitanians, on the banks of the Guadiana. The booty won in Spain had served to buy the people and a part of the senate.² The Barcine faction increased, and, as its principal support was in the people, it favoured the encroachments of the popular assembly, which by degrees came to preponderate in the government.³ Accordingly, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Amilcar, and favourite of the people at Carthage, succeeded to his father-in-law's command in spite of the senate.⁴ He continued his conquests with an army of fifty-six thousand soldiers, and two hundred elephants, pushed on as far as the Ebro, where the Romans, frightened at his progress, stopped him by a treaty (227); and, in order to consolidate his power, founded Carthagena⁵ in a well-chosen position, in the middle of the Spanish coast, facing Africa, at a large harbour, and near mines which daily yielded him 300 pounds weight of silver. Immense works made a great town of it in a few years; it was, as it were, the capital of the future States of the Barcine house.⁶

¹ According to Appian he set out, in spite of the senate, for Spain, where Carthage already had some possessions and commercial relations.

² *pecunia totam locupletavit Africam*. (Corn. Nep., *Amilcar*, 4.)

³ τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίαις . . . ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετελήθει (Polyb., vi. 51; Cf. Appian, vi. 5; see page 436). The first Punic war, by staying the course of emigration, which periodically removed a part of the poor from the towns, augmented the influence of the people.

⁴ *Factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modica erant, haud sane voluntate principum, in imperio potitus* (Livy, xxi. 2). According to Cornelius Nepos (*Amilcar*, 3): *largitione vetustos pervertit mores*.

⁵ Gades was the Phœnician capital of Spain, but the Barcas desired a new town; Gades, moreover, occupied too eccentric a position, and preserved the bitter regret of its independence, which Hasdrubal had suppressed.

⁶ Hanno, in opposing himself to Hannibal's being sent to Hasdrubal, said: *Anchoc timeamus, ne . . . nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat . . . ?* And he adds, in speaking of Amilcar: *cujus regis . . .*; and of the army: *hereditarii exercitus . . .* (Livy, xxi. 3). These speeches of Hanno are made by Livy, but they represent the opinion which the

Hasdrubal was, however, assassinated by a Gallic slave, who avenged on him the death of his master, slain by treason. The soldiers elected in his place Hannibal, the son of their ancient commander, who had fought in their ranks for three years. The people confirmed,¹ and the senate accepted the new king. Spain and the army were, in fact, no longer anything but a heritage of the Barcas.²

Such was, in 219, the situation at Carthage. Everything announced a coming transformation in that ancient republic. But Hannibal, like Cæsar two centuries later, needed soldiers and victories to enable him to re-enter his fatherland as its master. Cæsar won the dictatorship in Gaul, Hannibal sought it in this second Punic war, which his father had bequeathed him.

Romans held, and which, according to all indications we must ourselves hold, of the ambition of the Barcas. A military chief, Malchus, had already led his army against Carthage, and taken the town, without, however, proclaiming himself king. But he was condemned, and put to death on the accusation of having aspired to the tyranny. (Justin., xviii. 7.)

¹ Polybius, iii. 13.

² The historian Fabius, a contemporary of Amilcar and senator of Rome, expressly said that Hasdrubal, after having tried to seize the tyranny of Carthage: . . . *εις μοναρχίαν περιστήσαι τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων*, had behaved in Spain as if the country belonged to him: . . . *τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν χειρίζεν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, οὐ προσέχοντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων* (Polyb., iii. 8). Polybius himself says (x. 10) of Hasdrubal that he had built a kingly palace at Carthage: *βασίλεια κατισκεύασται πολυτελῶς, ἃ φασιν . . . ποιῆσαι, μοναρχικῆς ὀρεγόμενον ἐξουσίας*.

CHAPTER XXII.

INTERNAL STATE OF ROME IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS.

I.—COMMENCEMENT OF ROMAN LITERATURE,^{*} POPULAR GAMES AND FESTIVALS.

TO furnish Italy with her natural adjuncts, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and make these islands the outposts of the new Empire, to protect her commerce against the pirates of Illyria, her quiet and fortune against the land-pirates settled in Cisalpine Gaul, Rome had fought numerous battles and set immortal lessons of perseverance. From these terrible struggles she had issued with an assurance of her own strength and of the fidelity of her subjects; this is the golden age of her republican existence.¹

Meanwhile, since the Samnite war, everything—manners, religion, and political organization—had made a step in advance. The riches found in the pillage of industrious commercial cities, the tribute paid by Sicily and Carthage, the ideas acquired by contact with so many men and things, produced novelties to which the Romans insensibly grew accustomed. In less than three-quarters of a century Rome is no longer in Rome. Let us follow these slow infiltrations of foreign ideas and customs, which are about to modify so profoundly the Latino-Sabine society of early times. In the study of these inevitable transformations lies the interest and profit of history.

The Latin language, that sonorous but imperfect instrument, preserved the commanding majesty which is so clearly marked

^{*} Polybius says of this government (vi. 57); *Ἦν καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς Ἀννιβιακοῖς καιροῖς*

in the Twelve Tables, and which, after the flowing eloquence of Cicero and Livy, it again resumes in the masculine terseness of Tacitus and the great lawyers of the Empire. It was always unfit for the rendering of abstract ideas, which, indeed, this people did not possess; Aristotle and Plato would have found difficulty in using it.

By the very fact of being used, however, it grew more supple and lost its asperities. In the Forum and in the curia Rome had orators of note. In the camp, and even on the field of battle, generals harangued their troops to convince before commanding them.¹ And it could not be otherwise in a republican State, in which speech is as powerful as the sword in the good and evil it can effect. Eloquence had even its tutelary god, Mercury, whose statue, erected in the public place of the towns, there presided at once over commerce and deliberations.

The custom of funeral orations was very ancient. We have cited a fragment of that which Q. Metellus consecrated to the victor of Panormus.² It is a fashion which rises rapidly to perfection; in the following generation the Temporiser pronounced before all the people over the bier of his son a harangue which Plutarch ventures to compare with those of Thucydides.

Another branch of literature also commenced, which developes till it becomes one of the purest glories of Rome. The first



³ Mercury.³

¹ [It is, however, certain that the great majority, if not all, the speeches of this kind reported in our Roman histories are the invention of rhetorical historians copying the fashions of Greek historiography. The whole tenor of Roman military discipline seems foreign to such speech-making.—*Ed.*]

² *Life of Fabius*, initio. Cf. p. 484.

³ Mercury, with the travelling cap and winged shoes, holding a purse in his right hand and his caduceus in his left. Bronze figure found at Arles. See p. 74, the Mercury Agoreus of Præneste. Collection of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2996 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

plebeian high pontiff (254), Coruncanus, had just opened a school of jurisprudence,¹ that is to say, for explaining the law to all who presented themselves, instead of admitting, like his predecessors, only those patricians who counted upon canvassing for a place in the college of pontiffs. These schools multiplied, and therein was formed the only science which the Romans created, jurisprudence.

Oral tradition preserved many things, but intellectual needs were so limited that the recitals of the atrium and the hearth²



Coin of F.
Pictor.³

sufficed for a curiosity which was seldom stimulated. Rome existed for five hundred years without making a book or a poem, or even one of those soldier-songs, one of those warrior lays which are found among all

nations. The first play of Livius Andronicus, the Tarentine, who had been set free by a man of consular rank, was represented in 240, at the celebration of the Roman games; that of the Campanian Nævius, appears to belong to 231, and in the interval between the two Punic wars, Fabius Pictor began his books of *Annals*.⁴ They opened with the arrival of Æneas in Latium, and the soldier of Thrasimene continued them down to the events which he himself had witnessed.⁵ Polybius,

¹ Dig., i. 2, 8 § 35.

² Cato, however, says that the guests used to sing in round, to the sound of flutes, the exploits and virtues of their ancestors (Cic., *Tusc.*, iv. 2, and Val. Max., II. i. 10). Horace bears witness that this was an ancient custom, *more patrum* (*Carm.*, IV. xv. 26—33). There were also *Nenie*, or funeral wailings. But tradition, usually so tenacious in preserving popular songs, has retained nothing of these rude poems of Rome, which leads us to think that they never stirred the national spirit very deeply.

³ On the obverse, a head of Pallas, which we do not give. On the reverse, Rome holding an *apex* and a spear; behind her, a shield, with the word, QUIRINUS, and the legend, FABIUS PICTOR. It is not certain that this coin is our historian's; it belongs at least to some one of his family.

⁴ After the battle of Cannæ. F. Pictor was sent to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo. Polybius calls him a senator.

⁵ About the time of Pyrrhus the belief in the Trojan origin of Rome was already established, and at the end of the first Punic war the Romans claimed, on the strength of it, a right to intervene in Greece in favour of the Acarnanians (Dionys., i. 52; Just., xxviii. 1). Nævius, Ennius, and Fabius Pictor had no doubt about it. On a box lately found at Præneste, with all its contents, an Italian artist, inspired by Greek art, has depicted this legend and the combats of Turnus and Æneas a century and a half before Vergil. As the upper part of the cist no longer exists, only one half of the fight and the combatants is seen (see page 391), but the lid represents the last scene. Æneas had demanded the hand of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus and Amata, but the latter, who had promised her to Turnus, refuses. Æneas wounds Turnus mortally; Amata kills herself, and Lavinia marries Æneas, who makes peace with Latinus. These are the last acts of the drama represented on the lid. Æneas has the body of Turnus borne before Latinus; on the other side, Amata, in despair, flies to put herself to death, whilst

Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and *Dion Cassius made much of his work, which was lacking in art, but in which a vast quantity of precious information on the subject of institutions was found. He wrote it in Greek, in contempt for the vulgar idiom. It is believed, however, that he made a Latin translation of it.¹

It is not our duty to study these early writings more closely; literary history is only of interest here as an expression of the state of mind and manners. It will be sufficient to remark that the period at which we have now arrived is that in which, under the influence of the great events which take place, and by the influence of Greece, which gradually gains ground, Latin genius is at last awaking to intellectual things.

Why this long slumber, and why these beginnings of literature due to foreigners? It is because this people loves above all things strength and practical talent, and that, having no leaning towards the ideal, nor the imagination which leads thereto, they only see the reality of things, and know not how to clothe it in graceful fictions. They will have none of the art of Æschylus or Sophocles, and the religious terrors of the Athenian theatre; they are only moved in the face of real pangs, of life blood issuing from deadly wounds. Were the comedies of Menander offered them they would hasten away to the floral games and the Atellane farces, to coarseness and obscenity. What the Greeks told with poetic anger or enveloped in a religious 'myth they would put in action on the stage—Leda, for instance, and the swan, or Pasiphaë, who was represented in the theatres of the Empire.

The Romans certainly had many very solemn festivals, and in

Lavinia refuses to follow her. The third woman represented is no doubt a nymph, a sibyl, or some other fortune-telling female, an interpreter and revealer of future destinies. Latinus is taking Æneas' hand, and with the other swearing peace, while his feet trample on arms and shields. The two winged figures are Sleep and Death, or genii represented by an artist who no longer understands the old theology, or, perhaps, the *Diræ* of Virgil (*Æn.*, xii. 845), "daughters of dark night." Both are of the male sex. One is about to carry off Turnus; the other still slumbers, but will awake when Amata has accomplished her design. The figures placed below the principal scene do not enter into its action. One is a corpulent Silenus; the other, the river Numicius; the female is the fountain of Juturna, sad at losing itself in the deep river (Virgil, *ibid.*, xii. 885—6):—

Caput glauco contexit amictu,

Multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto.

II. Brunn (*Ann. du Bull. archéol.*, 1864, p. 367) fixes the date of this cist in the sixth century of Rome, about the end of the second Punic war, or shortly afterwards.

¹ Cf. Peter, *Rel. Hist. Rom.*, p. lxxvi., who refers the Latin history to a later Fabius.

their religious processions choirs of boys and maidens sang pious hymns that every ear might hear. Livy mentions several of them,¹ and Catullus has preserved us one, which is however, the poet's own [adapted from Sappho].

"We who have vowed ourselves to the worship of Diana, maidens and boys of pure hearts, we celebrate her praises.

"O mighty daughter of Jupiter! Thou who reignest over the mountain and the green forests, the mysterious groves and resounding billows;

"Thou whom women invoke in the pangs of labour; thou, too, mighty Hecate, to whom the sun lends his light;



Diana or the Moon.³

"Who in thy monthly course tracest the circle of the year and fillest with an abundant harvest the barn of the rustic husbandman;

"O most holy! By whatever name it may please thee to be invoked, be, as thou ever wast, helpful to the ancient race of Romulus."

But these people, who were so pious and habitually grave, were at the same time very coarse. They loved at once the solemn and the grotesque. Amid the triumphal pomp which we picture to ourselves, with the triple majesty of the senate, the people, and the army, advancing between two rows of temples towards the Capitol of the hundred steps, there marched gigantic dancing figures and masks, *Lamiae* with pointed teeth, a kind of vampire, out of which were taken alive the children whom they had devoured,⁴ and *Manducus*, a colossal bogey, which advanced "with large, broad, and horrible jaws, well provided with teeth, above as well as below, which by means of a little hidden cord were made to click one against the other in a terrible

¹ Livius Andronicus composed one, P. Licinius Tegula another, at the commencement of the war against Macedonia in 200, to avert evil presages. (Livy, xxxi. 12.)

² *Carm.*, xxxiv.

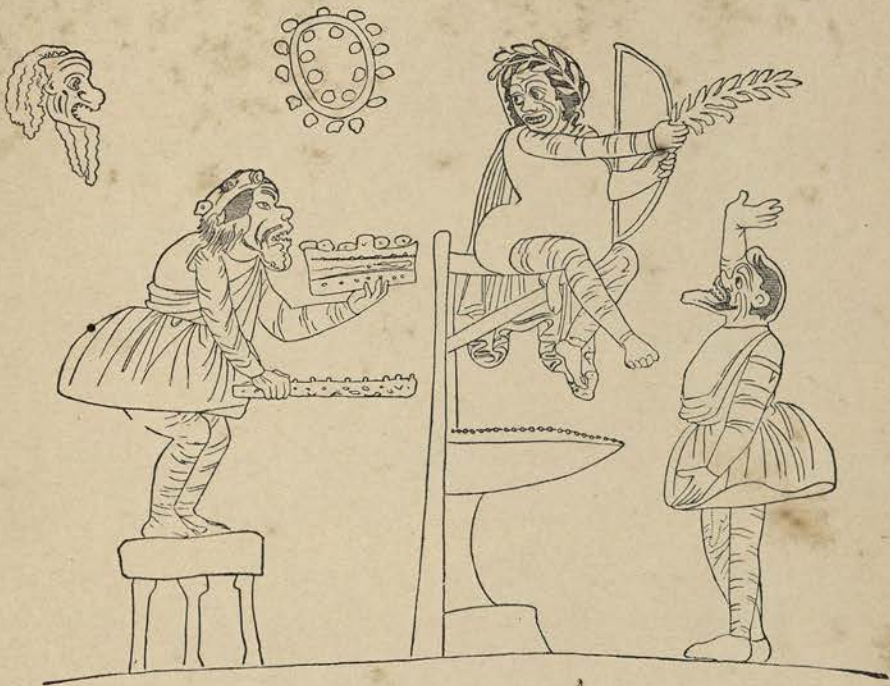
³ Diana, or the moon, in a car, drawn by two horses, which she herself drives. The goddess has her hair bound up with a diadem, and is clad in a long robe. Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁴ . . . *pransæ Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.* (Hor., *Ars poet.*, 340.)



Lid of the Præneste box. See p. 532, n. 5.

manner.”¹ The monstrous machines made the children cry, the women shriek, and the men laugh, and the feast was complete. We like the soldier who, behind the triumphal car, makes his general pay with keen sarcasms the ransom of his glory, and who, in order to be more free in his railing verse, hides himself in



Comic Scene.²

a buck's skin and covers his head with a tuft of bristly fur.³ We love, too, to hear the slave appointed to hold the golden crown over the triumpher's head murmur in his ear, "Remember that thou art a man."⁴ But Petreia, the drunken old woman, who leads the procession, disgusts us, and the remarks which Citeria, the gossip with the sharp tongue, throws at the spectators as she passes would not amuse us.⁵

¹ Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv. 59.

² Taken, as is also the engraving on the following page, from two Etruscan vases. (*Atlas du Bull. archéol.*, vol. vi.—vii. pl. 34.)

³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, vii. 74.

⁴ Tertull., *Apol.*, 33.

⁵ Festus, *s.v.* These two women were two masks. We know that each great town in Italy has still its own—Pulcinello at Naples; Pasquino at Rome; Stenterello at Florence;

They afforded great amusement to the Romans, who, the moment they ceased to be serious, desired coarse laughter, sharp words, and biting epigrams. The refined Horace disliked these bold and ribald improvisations, which, expressed in the freest of verse, the Saturnian, assumed an appearance of literature—a very low literature, it is true, but so national in Italy that it is still the delight of the masses, sometimes even that of men of letters. “The husbandmen of former times,” says he, “robust and easily



Comic Scene.

contented, recreated themselves, when the harvest was gathered, by feasts. With their slaves, children, and wives they offered a hog to the earth, milk to Silvanus, and flowers and wine to the genius of the hearth. The fescennine licence springing from these festivals poured out its rustic sarcasms in dialogue. At first it was only a gay pastime, but this jesting ended by becoming spiteful, and assailed the most honourable families. Those whom this cruel tooth had wounded obtained the passing of the law¹ which forbade, under pain of chastisement, any personal attack. The custom was changed for fear of the rod.”² But the rod

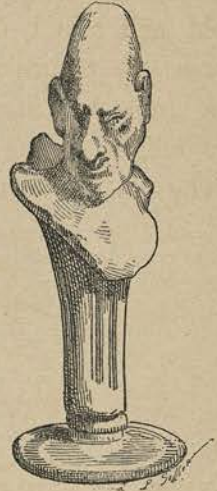
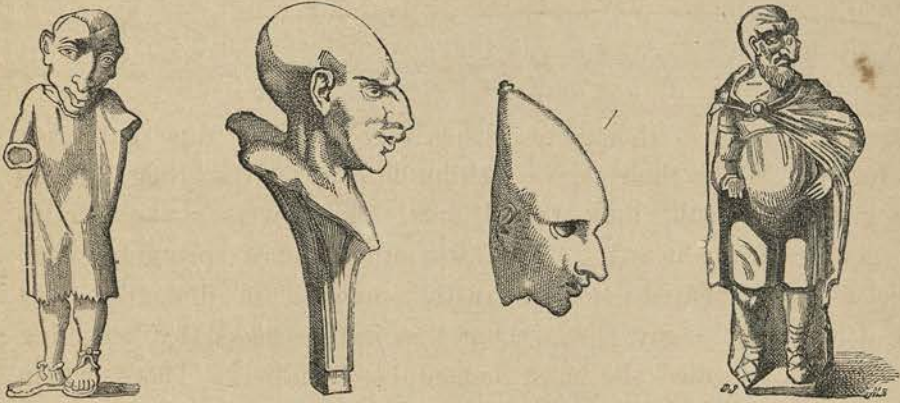
Arlequino at Bergamo; Pantalone at Venice, etc. We have seen, on page 318, that the *Tubicines* on certain days ran through the streets in all sorts of costumes, even in women's clothes, uttering a thousand buffooneries, such, no doubt, as are still heard during the Roman carnival. Cf. Censor, *De Die Nat.*, 12, 1.

¹ In the Twelve Tables, see p. 224.

² Horace, *Ep.*, II. i. 139, *seq.*

was not always called in. In fact, when Pasquino, who is so old at Rome, reformed, the nobility perhaps gained by it, but not the public taste; for centuries, maidens, on the day of their espousals, had to listen to fescennine verses.

The inhabitants of Atella, in Campania, took pleasure in coarse farces, lazzi and grimaces, blows and kicks, very vulgar and sometimes very acute jokes, allusions to the events of the day, and domestic mishaps, the whole sphere, in short, of the *Commedia dell' arte* of modern Italians, the hero of which, "the very sprightly Signor Pulcinella," is descended in a direct line from Maccus, the jolly gossip of ancient Campania. When the jesters of Atella, who travelled through Italy, arrived at Rome, Roman gravity unbent so far that the citizens, who left the representation of the serious plays of Livius Andronicus to actors, played in masks the *Fabulæ Atellaneæ*, in which everything was

Maccus.¹Atellane Personages.²

laughed at. "It was settled," says Livy, "that a man might play in them without being excluded from his tribe or the legions."³

¹ Maccus, or the ancient Punch. Mask with an enormous crooked nose, and wearing a sort of cap. Bronze figure from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3096, in the Chabouillet catalogue.

² See, in the *Dict. des Antiq., grecques et rom.*, figures 593-597, and on page 513 and the following ones, M. Boissier's article, *Atellane fabule*.

³ vii. 2.

The grand period of the Atellane farces comes later than the time of which we are now speaking, but the personages already had their traditional costume and character. Maccus was the good-for-nothing, whom his gluttony and luxury were always getting into scrapes; Bucco, the parasite, the impudent and clever glutton, who always managed to find a dinner; Pappus, the old



Comic Actor.¹

miser, in search of his wife and his money, which he had been robbed of; and Dossennus, a philosopher who afforded great laughter by the contrast between his conduct and his speeches. Fescennine verse and Atellane farces mingled in the scenic games. In 364 a pestilence desolated Rome; they had recourse to the gods, who turned a deaf ear; then to the Etruscans, who had the reputation of being able to avert⁴ plagues. They replied that the gods would be satisfied if they were honoured by scenic games, and, that the Romans might be able to celebrate these

games, they sent them at the same time actors, who executed religious dances to the sound of the flute; as the pestilence then ended, the remedy appeared efficacious, and the counsel was followed. Young Romans learnt the dances introduced from Etruria, and marked the rhythm of them by songs, often improvised, which ended by being accompanied with action.² Roman comedy was discovered, but it recalled the fact that it had sprung from the plays of mountebanks till the day when a poet of genius, Plautus, took possession of it,³ or rather, turned it into the streets, by producing in the theatre Greek comedy, which he made sufficiently Roman for us to find the manners of the Romans here and there.

The floral games date from the present epoch. They were instituted in 238 in order to induce Flora, the goddess of Spring, to grant that all the flowers wherewith the fields were covered on the days of her festival³ should bring forth fruit.⁴

¹ Figure found at Rome. No. 3093, in the Chabouillet catalogue.

² This mixture of music, words and dancing, was called a *satura*. The *satura*, which must not be confounded with the *satire*, long remained the true Roman drama. The actors who afforded this diversion were paid by the ædiles.

³ From the 28th of April to the 3rd of May.

⁴ *Ut omnia bene deflorescerent.* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xviii. 69.)

Goddess of joyous fruitfulness, Flora inspired no grave thoughts; her games were celebrated with noisy magnificence, and a liberty which presently passed into all licence. In the following century the dancing girls of Flora appear unveiled before the spectators, and Cato the censor, in order to avoid placing any restraint on the pleasures of the people, who would not dare to demand “these *tableaux vivants*” before so grave a personage, leaves the theatre before the dancers showed themselves.²

Flora.¹

The postures and words of the *mimes* were as bad as the ballet dancing, and later on even worse.

The festivals of Anna Perenna, the goddess of life, were an occasion for joyous gatherings in the meadows which the Tiber washes with his eternal waters (*perennes*). In these festivities, to drink till they lost their reason, and to call to mind in the freest verse the mistakes of Mars in taking a decrepit goddess for the beautiful Minerva, were looked upon as pious works, and the care of singing this story fell to young maidens.³

The native modesty of woman no doubt protested in some

Genii of the Chariot-races.⁴

cases, but the ancients understood this sentiment otherwise than we; they did not place it in the “blessed ignorance” of the maiden, but in the fidelity of the wife. Lucretia was the model of

¹ Silver coin of the Servilian family, presenting on the obverse, to the right, the legend FLORIAL (ia) PRIMVS (*fecit*, understood). Head of Flora crowned with flowers; behind, the *lituus* or augural rod. After being suspended during the long woes of the second Punic war, these games were re-established, after a bad harvest, in 173, on the order of the senate, by the ædile C. Servilius.

² Val. Max., II. x. 8; Mart., i., pr.

³ Ovid, *Fast.*, iii. 675-6:

*Nunc mihi, cur cætent, superest, obscena puellæ,
Dicere; nam coëunt, certaque probra canunt.*

⁴ Bas-relief in the Louvre, No. 449, Clarac catalogue. We have explained, on p. cxxxvi.

matrons, and single marriages gained the name of chastity for the *univira* woman.¹ The basis of paganism being the worship of life, to transmit it became a duty and a quasi-religious act. Every-



Athletic Victor in
Boxing.³

where was seen the expressive symbol, and the allusions made to it were listened to without virtue being troubled thereby, as in the time of the Trouvères and of Rabelais, of Molière and La Fontaine, our grandmothers heard many things which would shock us now.

The great Roman games were more ancient; the institution of them was referred to the first Tarquin. They consisted of chariot races and pugilistic contests, and were celebrated in the Circus Maximus, between the Aventine and the Palatine, in honour of the three civic deities of Rome—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The citizens were present at them, but, unlike the Greeks, did not descend into the arena, which was given up to paid grooms and professional coachmen.²

It is well to notice this origin of the public games of Rome, which were all established with a view of appeasing the gods or of gaining their favour,⁴ and it must be borne in mind in order to understand how, even at the period of the greatest excesses, they always preserved the character of national and religious festivals.

the doctrine of the *genii* which the Romans of later ages developed. But in this bas-relief, as in many paintings at Pompeii, the artist has only employed Cupids for the object of a graceful theme for decoration. We recognise the different details of the circus, the statue of Diana, the dolphins half hidden by one of the runners, the boundaries, *metasque imitata cupressus* (Ovid, *Met.*, x. 106), placed at either extremity of the *spina*, which divided the circus in two, and finally the columns supporting the seven *ova* which served to mark the number of times that the chariots had made the circuit of the *spina*.

¹ *Corona pudicitie honorabantur.* (Val. Max., II. i. 3.)

² The citizens only took part in the *consualia*, races celebrated in honour of the god Consus, who afterwards became the equestrian Neptune. The *Equiriæ* (Festus, s. v., *Equiria*, and Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, vi. 13) were probably races of free horses, like those of the *barberi* in the modern Corso.

³ Statue found in the ruins of the Forum, *Archæmærium*. Louvre Museum, No. 702, in the Clarac catalogue.

⁴ *Ludorum primum initium . . . procurandis religionibus datum.* (Livy, vii. 3.)

"Varro," says S. Augustin , "ranks theatrical things with things divine."¹

The combats of gladiators themselves came from the religious idea that the manes loved blood, an old belief which was general in ancient times, and which still holds amongst barbarous nations. The Greeks, who immolated captives and slaves on the tombs of their heroes, renounced that custom, which they replaced by sham fights and a war-like dance, the Pyrrhic; the Etruscans preserved it, and transmitted it to the Romans. The first combat of gladiators seen at Rome was that which the Brutus family gave at the funeral ceremonies of their father, in the same year in which the Punic war began (264).



Gladiator.²

II.—CHANGES IN MANNERS, RELIGION, AND CONSTITUTION.

Rome, having become rich and powerful, desired to beautify herself without sacrificing too much to the graces. The Colossus of Carvilius, the Wolf of the Capitol,³ placed by the  diles on the Palatine Hill near the Ruminal fig tree in 296, and the paintings of Fabius Pictor in the Temple of Safety (302) show that, until the Punic wars, art had remained sacerdotal—I mean that it had served more especially for the ornamentation of temples. The Romans, who adopted everything from their neighbours, were very slow in adopting the fair dalliance of art. They carried off statues from Veii, Volsinii, and Syracuse, but they themselves made none. If, in order to recall patriotic memories, they set up, in the fifth century, the statue of Hermodorus, who had aided the decemvirs with his counsel, and those of the Roman ambassadors slain at Fiden , and in the fourth and fifth those of the augur Navius, Horatius Cocles, and of Clelia, of the kings of Rome and of Brutus, Greek or Etruscan artists must have carved these images,

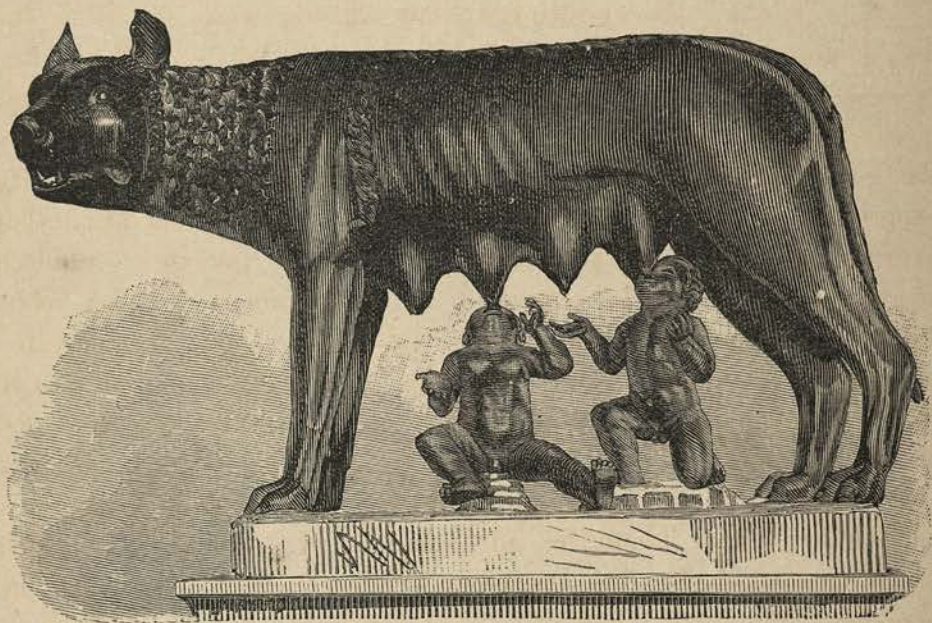
¹ *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 1.

² Gladiator (*mirmillo*) fully armed, sword in hand, shield on arm. Rarely represented on intaglios. Engraved gem for the *Cabinet de France*, double the actual size, No. 1876 in the Chabouillet catalogue.

³ This group is still in existence; it is an Etruscan work. The twins appear to be of a later date. See next page.

for Romulus and Tatius were represented without any clothing, as the Greek heroes always were.

With the product of the fines the ædiles widened the streets of ancient Rome, which were so narrow that the vestals and matrons alone had the right to pass through them in chariots to attend religious solemnities, and, after the example set by Appius,¹ the bold constructor of the Appian way and of the first Roman



She-wolf of the Capitol.

aqueduct, a part of the State resources was employed in the completion of great works of public utility. Manius Curius had, after the second war of Pyrrhus, constructed a second aqueduct, and Flaminius, after the defeat of the Insubres, commenced a second military road, the *via Flaminia*, which started from Rome and reached beyond the Apennines to Ariminum, the Adriatic, and Gallia Cisalpina, as the *via Appia* would lead across the Apennines on the south to Beneventum, Brundisium, and the Ionian Sea.² In time, both were bordered with magnificent tombs, and the

¹ See page 312.

² Flaminius also built at Rome the circus which bears his name, and procured the means necessary for these great works by rigorously gathering in the taxes which the holders of State forests, pasture-lands and mines owed to the treasury, and which, by the connivance of the senate, they sometimes forgot to pay.

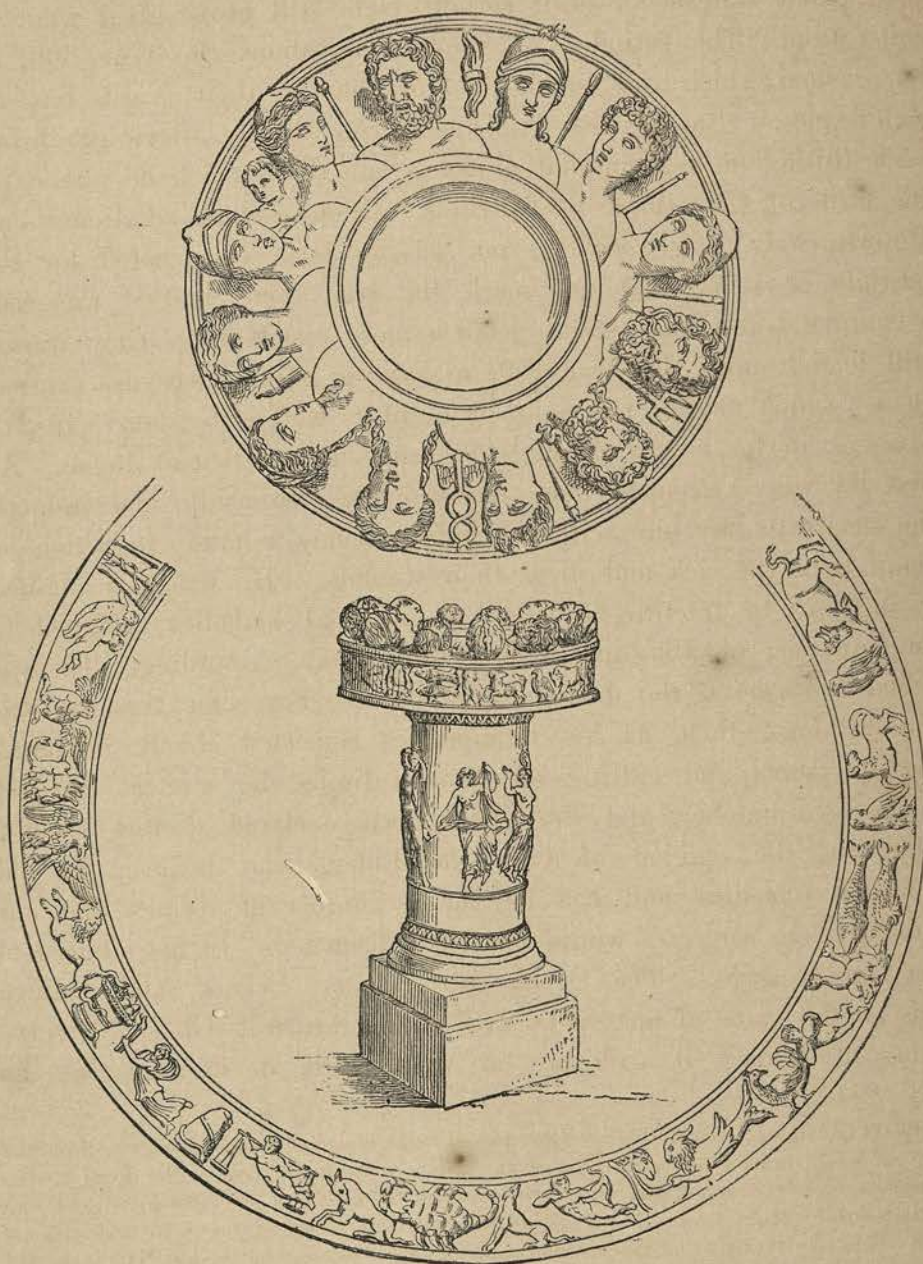
traveller arriving from the smiling cities of Campania met the great dead of Rome before seeing her consuls and her emperors. The tombs of the Flaminian road have been replaced by the prosaic houses of the Corso, but the Appian way retains some of those upon it; and before these ruins, to which the majestic horizon of the Latin mountains forms so fine a frame, we forget the vulgar side of Rome's manners to contemplate the solemnity of her spirit.

The temples also multiplied; all consuls were not like the parsimonious Papirius, who, on the day of the battle of Aquilonia, promised Jupiter a cup of good wine if the legions were victorious, "an offering," says Livy gravely, "which was well received by the god."¹ Each time that a general found himself in a difficulty he promised some deity to build him a sanctuary on condition that he gave him the victory. Rome, the city of the three hundred and sixty-five churches, possessed almost as many temples when Jupiter reigned there. The pagans had enough gods at their disposition for dedications, and when any were wanting appropriate to the circumstances an epithet added to the name made a new god of an old one. Jupiter, Juno, Fortune, etc., had thus an infinity of surnames. I do not know whether piety gained much thereby, but family vanity found an advantage in it. These monuments, which ceaselessly recalled the glory of those who had raised them, prepared favourable elections for themselves and their children. When there were no longer any comitia at Rome, to decorate one's town with a temple or a divine image was still, in the towns of the upper empire, the surest means of gaining public favour.

Private individuals sought for themselves that luxury which was formerly only displayed for the gods. Greek art gained entrance into Rome, where it decorated the vast tomb which the Scipios had raised to themselves, and some houses, says Florus, already showed gold, purple, statues, and all the refinements of the luxury of Tarentum. The words temples and statues must not, however, give us the idea of a town in which civilization had already obtained its citizenship. In the first place, there never was a Roman art,

¹ *Id votum diis cordi fuit* (x. 42). Papirius judged of Jupiter's tastes by his own; he was accused of loving wine, and Livy says of him: . . . *ferunt cibi vinique capacissimum* (ix. 16; Dion., fr. 92).

although there were, at a later date, magnificent monuments



Sun-dial or Astrological Altar of the Fabii.¹ (Museum of the Louvre.)

inspired by the genius of Rome. It is a singular thing that

¹ A monument unique of its kind, found at Gabii in 1792. It is composed of two independent parts:—First, a *patella* (hollow plate), around which are carved the heads of the twelve

Christian Rome was no more fruitful in artists;¹ but, in them both, what statesmen! But certain facts still prove great want of cultivation. The introduction into Rome, about the year 300, of the custom which the Greeks had of shaving their beards has no significance. But we see Papirius Cursor shortly afterwards bring back thither as a triumphal object a sun dial, which he placed on the walls of the temple of Quirinus.² It was much admired there. Unfortunately, this *solarium*, not having been constructed for the latitude of Rome, did not mark the true hour, and it was half a century before they could make a more exact one. They waited still longer, until the year 159, to have a public clepsydra [water-clock], which marked the hour by night as well as by day.³ In 219 a Greek doctor named Archagathos came and settled at Rome. At first he was welcomed there, received the citizenship, and induced the senate to buy him with the public money a house, in which he could treat the sick and dress their wounds. He was only applied to in cases of fracture or sores, for internal maladies belonged to the province of the quacks and the gods. Accordingly he was called *vulnerarius*, the doctor for wounds. For some time he was the fashion; then, as his therapeutics consisted chiefly in burning the sores and cutting off broken limbs, he was at last set down as a butcher, and the whole town declared doctors useless. This was the opinion of Cato the Elder, who believed in old women's remedies, and has left us a number of recipes that our latest village sorcerers would not have disowned. In his advices to his son he says, "The Greek race is very vicious; and, believe this as the voice of an oracle, with its literature it will spoil everything at Rome: it will be far worse still if it sends us its

deities of Olympus;² second, this *patella* is placed in the centre of a table of circular form, the edge of which bears the twelve signs of the zodiac with the emblem of the divinity, who presides over each month of the year. The cavity in the middle of the table served as a sundial; the traces of the needles which marked the hours symbolised by the twelve divinities are still visible. It is certain that this monument was made for Rome, since the god Mars is thereon represented by a wolf, and the diameter of the *patella* is a *cubitus* (17·47 inches), a Roman measure of length. The deities are placed in the following order: Jupiter, Venus, Mars (between Venus and Mars a Cupid), Diana, Ceres, Vesta, Mercury, Vulcan, Neptune, Juno, Apollo and Minerva. See Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre*, vol. i. p. 9-14.

¹ It has only produced Giulio Romano.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, and Censor., *de Die nat.*, 23.

doctors. They have sworn among themselves to kill all the barbarians with their medicines; they make us pay dearly for obtaining our confidence, and poison us the more easily. My son, remember that I forbid thee doctors." "He thought," adds Pliny, "that medical services ought to be gratuitous, and that is why, though they invited Æsculapius to Rome, the Romans relegated him to a temple built outside the gates, on the Tiberine island."¹

Juno Moneta.²

Needs were felt which had formerly been unknown, and which showed that the economic conditions of society were changing. In 268 silver money had been coined; in 207 gold money is required.³ The dictator Furius (350) had vowed a temple to Juno Moneta, and had built it on the Capitol, on the place where the house of Manlius had been razed.⁴ During the war with Pyrrhus a monetary office was added to it,⁵ and "the good counsellor" became the protectress of coiners, which causes no surprise in a country where Jupiter Hercius, the protector of property, also took the surname of *Pecunia*, the god of gain.⁶

Finally, the *argentarii* had long encumbered the Forum, and, another sign of the times, the nobles had so completely forgotten

Argentarii.⁷

¹ *Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 6-8. The form of a vessel had been given to that island, and there may still be seen sculptured on its stone prow the staff of Æsculapius and the serpent twisted round it. As for the temple, there were found in the ruins a quantity of hands, feet, etc., that is to say, *ex-voto* offerings as certain of our churches have.

² MONETA. Head of Juno Moneta. On the reverse, T. CARISIVS. Laurelled coin, with anvil between a pair of pincers and a hammer. Silver coin of the Carisian family.

³ Pliny, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 3. The silver denarii, struck in 268, were worth 10 *asses* of bronze of a pound each. See pages 549 and 550, the series of gold and silver coins.

⁴ Livy, vii. 28.

⁵ We give here the tables of the series of gold and silver coins struck at this period.

⁶ S. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 12.

⁷ Bottom of a painted vase. A changer seated near a table covered with pieces of money; a man standing in front of him offers others on a tray; behind, bags on which are inscribed the amounts of the sums they contain.

SERIES OF SILVER COINS.

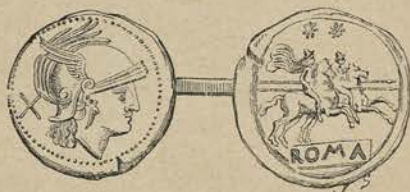
Double denarius. On the obverse, double head, beardless; on the reverse, Jupiter in a quadriga, in the exergue, ROMA in sunk letters. Value, 20 *ases*. Double of the denarius (No. 3), if not in size, at least in weight.



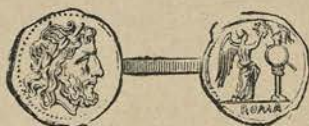
Double victoriatus, the equivalent of a denarius. Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter; on the reverse, ROMA, and winged Victory crowning a trophy. Unique coin in the *Cabinet de France*. Mean weight of the known victoriati, 58 grains troy.



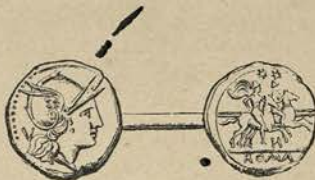
Denarius. On the obverse, Pallas or Rome; behind, X (the mark of the denarius or ten *ases*); on the reverse, the Dioscuri on horseback and the legend ROMA. Mean weight, 60.64 grains troy.



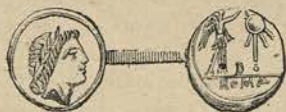
Victoriatus, the equivalent of a quinarius, thus called on account of the figure of Victory.



Quinarius. Head of Pallas; behind, V (the mark of the quinarius or five *ases*); on the reverse, the Dioscuri, designated by two stars, and ROMA, as on the denarius. The letter H is a mark of issue, or of the monetary tribune. Mean weight 27.7 grains troy.



Demi-victoriatus. Laurel-crowned head of Apollo; on the reverse, ROMA and the letter D between Victory and the trophy she is crowning. Same value as the sestertius. The victoriatus was coined about 228, the demi-victoriatus about 104 B.C.



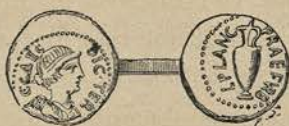
Sestertius. Head of Pallas and the mark of the sestertius (or two and a half *ases*) HHS. Same reverse as the two preceding pieces.



SERIES OF GOLDEN COINS.



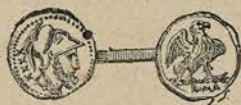
Golden denarius (aureus, 25 den., or 100 sest.). Head of Jupiter; on the reverse, CN. LENTVL. Eagle on a thunderbolt. Aureus of the Cornelian family, weighing only 119.139 grains troy, whereas an aureus of the Cornifician family, a drawing of which we give later on, weighs 122.997 grains troy. The difference may depend upon the extraordinary preservation of the latter.



Golden quinarius or demi-aureus. On the obverse, a bust of Victory and the legend, C. CAES. DIC. TER.; on the reverse, L. PLANC. PRAEF. VRB. round the sacrificial vase. Golden quinarius of the Munctian family.



Sixty sestertii. On the obverse, a head of Mars and the figure VX; on the reverse, ROMA. Eagle on a thunderbolt, a piece of Campanian manufacture; period of the first workmanship in gold.



Forty sestertii. Helmeted head of Mars and the figure XXXX; on the reverse, an eagle on a thunderbolt with the legend ROMA. Also a piece of Campanian make, and of the same period as the preceding one.



Twenty sestertii. Mars and XX (twenty); same emblems and same origin as the two preceding pieces.

the ancient prejudices against commerce, that a law had just been made to forbid senators to have at sea a ship of more than three hundred *amphoræ* in freight. This prohibition served the purpose of the freedmen and *ævarii*, who could then monopolise all the commerce of the republic. Since shame had attached to usury, it was they especially who lived by this lucrative trade. Formerly the indebted proprietor remained in his class; after the Pœtelian law (326) the creditor had inscribed to his account the property which he had received as

Argentarii.¹

security, so that he gained at once both the interest of his money and public consideration, since his social condition rose in proportion as his debtor's sank. The great wars in which Rome now found herself engaged increased the influence of business men; they instituted themselves army-contractors, and by an agreement among themselves, formed an order dreaded even by the senate. We shall see later on the insolence of the commissary, Postumius of Pyrgi, and the circumspection of the senators, *qui ordinem publicanorum offensum nolebant*.²

Grievous symptoms revealed the dangers to which the conquest of the world would expose Roman manners. Thirteen senators had been degraded by the censors of the year 252; and a general, Papirius Matho, to whom the senate had refused an ovation for his victories in Sardinia, went to have his triumph on the Alban Mount, before other gods than those of the Capitol.³ Some patricians renounced the severe formalities of marriage by *confarreatio* in favour of the union concluded by purchase, *coemptio*; it was in some sort civil marriage replacing religious marriage. Valerius Maximus asserts that the divorce of Carvilius Ruga (233) caused great indignation. There is no reason for seeing in this

¹ Bas-relief from the Vatican. Changer seated behind a counter. On his left a wire grating very similar to those still employed in establishments of that kind. On the right a heap of money and a figure carrying a bag. •

² XXV. 3.

³ Livy, *Epit.*, xviii.; Val. Max., iii. 6.

any symptom of a weakening of customs. Carvilius had sworn before the censors that in repudiating his sterile wife he had no other motive than that of furnishing the republic with citizens.¹ Many others before him had repeated to their wives the form of repudiation: "Take what belongs to thee and give up the keys;" for in a society in which the husband had the right of life and death over his wife, he must necessarily have also the right of divorce, which indeed, the Twelve Tables recognised.² It was long after the period at which we have arrived that divorces, by their multiplication, introduced disorder into families. Finally, the severities of Camillus against celibacy, which were renewed by the censors of this same year, were less a measure of moral than of military order.

Religion preserved its character of interested worship. It created neither a body of doctrines nor moral teaching,³ and had always one single aim—to know the will of the gods, in order to try and bend them. But since the auguries, abandoned to the plebeians, had ceased to be a political instrument, they had lost much of their authority; the gods had so often deceived the hopes of their worshippers that some already doubted, and the priests sought to avert the effects of this doubt by mitigations of the ancient severity. The ritual prescribed the cessation of all work on ferial days, on pain of profanation. This rigour was avoided by clever interpretations. "What is it permitted to do on a feast-day?" was asked of the high pontiff, Scaevola. "All that cannot be neglected without harm." The pious Vergil says, "Nothing hinders from washing the bleating flock in the wholesome water of the river;" and Varro, "In war there is no need to make any distinction between *dies fasti* and *nefasti*."⁴ In fact, Fabius Cunctator declares that everything serviceable to the republic is accomplished under good auspices, everything that is contrary to it⁵ under evil auspices, and Flaminius boldly braves them.

¹ *Id.*, ii. 1; Aul. Gell., iv. 3.

² Cic., *Phil.*, ii. 28. The Scantinian law, to repress shocking vices, is of unknown date; it existed in the time of Cicero (*ad Fam.*, viii. 12); but I do not think it existed two centuries earlier.

³ *Sacra minus ad homines meliores faciendos quam ad voluntatem deorum conciliandam spectabant.* (Holtius, *Hist. jur. Rom. lineam*, p. 12.)

⁴ Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 16.

⁵ Cic., *de Senect.*, 4.

The *signs* had been a continual cause of preoccupation and terror; Marcellus, who became five times consul, and who was then already augur, once saved his sacerdotal character by saying: "When I meditate an enterprise, I close my litter so as not to see contrary auspices."¹ The theologians of Rome, who had become as complaisant as others have been for us, decided that where a sign had not been asked of the gods, one was at liberty to take no notice of it;² and Pliny considered that this liberty was the greatest favour that the gods had granted to man.³ Since the time of Pascal we give a particular name to this manner of interpreting religious laws: it belongs to all ages because it is inherent in human nature.

Certainly many believers might still be counted; the high pontiff, Metellus, had just lost his sight in saving the Palladium from the flames,⁴ an act which was, however, still more political than religious. But what we wish to point out is that there were the incredulous, like that Claudius who had the sacred chickens thrown into the sea, and his colleague Junius, who disdained to consult them. Ennius dared to say this much: "No doubt I believe that the gods exist, but they scarcely trouble themselves about this world;" and many applauded.⁵ There were also indifferent men, like the Potitii who left to their slaves the care of the sacrifices to Hercules, and the old rites were abandoned. "In the time of the second Punic war," says Livy, "public or domestic sacrifices were no longer performed according to the ancient custom, but only in foreign fashion."⁶ As the old Italian deities lost their credit, piety turned towards new gods. In the period of the decemvirs Apollo, a Greek divinity, had been introduced at Rome, not as the inspirer of the Muses—the Romans did not look so high—but as a useful god who kept off diseases. In 429 a temple was consecrated to him, on the occasion of a pestilence which had desolated the city,⁷ and at the time of the greatest perils in the

¹ Cic., *de Div.*, ii. 36. ² Servius, ad, *Æneid.*, xii. 259.

³ *Quo munere divinæ indulgentiæ majus nullum est.* (*Nat. Hist.*, xxviii. 4.)

⁴ Livy, *Epit.*, xxix.

⁵ Cicero, *de Div.*, ii. 50: *Magno plausu assentiente populo.*

⁶ Livy, xxv. 1. In 212 the senate itself decreed that sacrifice should be made to Apollo, *græco ritu.* (*Ibid.*, 12.) They sent to Delphi to consult the oracle several times.

⁷ Apollo being then a foreign god, his temple was built without the walls, near the Carmental Gate, as that of Æsculapius was relegated to the Tiberine island.

second Punic war, the surest means of ruining Hannibal was thought to be the dedicating of Apollinarian games to the "god who saves," *deus sospitalis*. In 293, after a violent pestilence, ambassadors had gone to Epidaurus to demand the serpent of



Priest of Apollo.³

Æsculapius,¹ which was at once both the image and the genius of the god who appeared to be incarnate in him. "Our vigilant pontiffs on consulting the Sibylline books," says Valerius Maximus,² "found that the only means of restoring health in Rome was to bring *Æsculapius* himself from Epidaurus. The republic, whose authority was already immense throughout the world, was persuaded that she would obtain by an embassy the only

remedy indicated by the fates. Success answered this attempt. As soon as they arrived, the deputies were led by the Epidaurians into the temple of *Æsculapius*, which is situated five miles from their town, and invited them to take therefrom all that they thought would be useful to the health of their country. The god ratified the words of the mortals; for the serpent, which rarely

¹ The serpent which silently glides under the grass, and after its winter sleep, strips off its skin to assume a new one, was in the eyes of the ancients a prudent animal, which knew the simples whence healing juices are taken, and the symbol of renewed life after illness or death.

² Livy, I. viii. 2.

³ From the base of a tripod which is in the Louvre Museum, No. 89 in the Fröhner catalogue. The quindecimvirs, *sacris faciundis*, who were undoubtedly only raised from ten to fifteen by Sulla, were the priests of Apollo, whose festival they celebrated from the 4th to the 15th of July. They wore the Greek costume, with a crown made of the foliage of the tree sacred to Apollo, the laurel. Each of them had in his house a bronze tripod on which every morning he burnt incense and called upon his god. (Servius, ad *Æneid.*, iii. 352.)

appeared to the Epidaurians, but always to announce some good fortune to them, and which they honoured as they did Æsculapius, began to pass through the most frequented quarters of the town. After having thus for three days offered himself to the religious admiration of the crowd, he directed his course towards the Roman galley, testifying by joyous movements the desire which he had for a more glorious residence. He entered the vessel in the presence of the affrighted sailors, reached the cabin of the ambassador, Q. Ogulnius, and rolling himself into numerous folds, he remained there in profound tranquillity. The ambassadors having obtained their utmost wishes, returned thanksgivings to the gods; and, after having learnt the manner of paying honour to the serpent, hastened to leave Epidaurus. A fortunate voyage soon landed them at Antium. There the serpent left the vessel, and took his way



Coin of Commodus, representing the arrival of Æsculapius on the island of the Tiber in the form of a serpent.

towards the vestibule of the temple of Æsculapius, where stood a palm tree, the crest of which rose majestically above a bushy myrtle. He rolled himself round the trunk of the tree, and remained there three days, during which time food was brought to him. The ambassadors feared that he would not again return into the galley; but, quitting the hospitable lodging of the temple, he went and resumed his former place to be carried to Rome. Finally, the deputies had scarcely set foot on the banks of the Tiber when he swam to the island, where a temple was afterwards dedicated to him, and his arrival removed the horrible scourge against which his aid had been employed."

On the island of the Tiber there was already a sanctuary of Faunus,¹ who, like Æsculapius, gave oracles by sending dreams, and the oracles of the ancient Latin deity could only have been recipes for curing man and beast. The residence of the god of Epidaurus was thus settled beforehand, but popular imagination could not allow that he had entered Rome in a simple manner; hence the marvellous circumstances which we have just related. This account

¹ See later on a double Hermes in the *Cabinet de France*, representing on one side the head of Faunus, and on the other that of Tutæus Mutinus.

forms part of Roman history, and even of the history of the human mind; for the spectacle of this strange superstition among a people so wise in council, so resolute in action, who left nothing to chance—that is to say, to the providence of their gods, and who appeared to demand everything of them, shows that there is no age of the world in which man's mind cannot associate opposites, the most resolute thinking and most puerile credulity.

The senate gave another proof of this at the moment when there was about to take place the greatest event in Rome's history, and a pledge of the conquest of the world. In 203, on the eve of Zama and of the fall of Carthage, they sent, by the order of the Sibylline oracles, to seek in Asia Minor a Phrygian divinity held in great renown among the nations of the peninsula.

This singular goddess, difficult to comprehend, who was originally, no doubt, a representation of the earth, and whom the Greeks had made the mother of the gods, could not enter Rome in a manner less miraculous than *Æsculapius*. She also received the honour of a legend. "Five of the noblest persons in the republic being sent to Delphi, they received this answer: 'King Attalus will cause the Romans to obtain what they desire, and the goddess, transported to Rome, must receive hospitality there from the most virtuous of the citizens!'" The king of Pergamus, who was at war with Philip of Macedonia, had need of the friendship of the Romans; it did not seem to this sceptical Greek that he would pay too dearly for it at the price of a sacrilege, and he persuaded the priests of Pessinus to give up the image of their divinity, the 'Idæan Mother.'" These priests formed a rich corporation, whose chief was a sort of sovereign. But, surrounded by Gauls, who claimed to make Pessinus one of their capitals, they could refuse nothing to a prince who was himself the enemy of the Galatians, and whose protection was so necessary to them. They gave the idol, and made arrangements to persuade the devotees that Cybele, although she had set out for the banks of the Tiber, remained on those of the Sangarius.

At Rome it remained to nominate the most virtuous man in the republic, that he might receive the goddess. Many competitors arose; men of consular rank, former dictators, canvassed for this

honour. It was assigned to a patrician, Publius Scipio, who was scarcely of an age for quæstorship, and who was a near relation of the man who at that very time was just arriving before Carthage, and who had thus torn Hannibal from Italy. The clever people who sat in the senate flattered the liberator of Rome by this choice, and at the same time avoided giving offence to those who, by reason of their age and dignities, could not be jealous of an entirely political favour done to a young man who was still in obscurity.



Claudia Dragging the Vessel of Cybele.¹

When the vessel arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, P. Scipio went on board and received the goddess from the hands of the priests. But the ship stranded on a shoal, and all efforts were powerless to get it off again. One of the noblest ladies, Claudia Quinta, whose conduct slander had attacked, stood forth from among the matrons, implored Cybele, and asked her to bear witness to her virtue by yielding, "she, the chaste goddess, to chaste hands." She tied her girdle to the ship and dragged it along, and Rome possessed a titular divinity and one more miracle. Livy dared not relate this story, which Ovid gives at full length. But Cicero and even Pliny believed in it, and the statue of Claudia, which was placed in the vestibule of Cybele's temple, did not permit a Roman to doubt it.³



The Black Stone.²

Cybele was venerated under the form of a black stone, which was, no doubt, an aerolite,⁴ and her orgiastic worship contrasted strangely with the gravity of Roman solemnities. Accordingly,

¹ Bas-relief in the Pio Clementino Museum.

² Altar on which is the Black Stone, surmounted by a stag's head. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Pessinus.

³ Livy, xxix. 11 and 14; Ovid, *Fasti*, 298 seq.; Cicero, *de Harusp. rep.*, 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 35.

⁴ Aerolite, or thunder stone, as the Turkish peasants say, who attribute to meteors healing virtues in certain sicknesses. The Black Stone of Pessinus might also have been only a piece of

although the Roman Pantheon opened to this foreign divinity, the patricians did not open their ranks to her priests, and refused to



An Arch Gallus.¹

be her pontiffs. A citizen would have been dishonoured by the mutilation to which the Phrygian Galli condemned themselves; the latter remained the ministers of their divinity. Each year Cybele took a mystic bath at the junction of the Anio and the Tiber. A priest clothed in purple washed the sacred stone therein, while the Galli made a great noise with flutes and

tambourines, uttered effeminate shrieks, and mortified themselves with whips furnished with knuckle-bones.

Augustus allowed the shapeless image of the Idæan mother to be placed upon one of his coins; Hadrian, better advised, borrowed the type of the Greeks, who represented the goddess seated on a throne with a mural crown on her brow and lions couched at her feet.

After the Grecian and Phrygian gods came those of the Punic race; in 217 the erection of a temple to Venus Erycina was

lava; almost the whole of Phrygia is of volcanic origin. Arnobius (*Adv. gentes*, 8), who saw it, says that it was small, smooth, and of blackish colour. It was placed before the mouth of the statue of Cybele.

¹ Bas-relief in the Capitoline Museum. Notice should be taken of the effeminate character of this priest-eunuch, whose ears are loaded with pearls. On his head he wears three medals, one of Idæan Jupiter and two of Atys, that Phrygian shepherd of matchless beauty, whom Cybele had consecrated to her worship, and to whom mythographers have attributed tragic adventures which make him an involuntary hero of chastity. On the priest's breast again is hung the image of Atys with the Persian mitre on his head. In his right hand he holds olive branches; in the left, a basket of fruit, from which issues the whip furnished with knucklebones; on the wall, cymbals, a drum, two flutes, and the mystic cist.

decreed, who was then for the first time admitted to a seat among the great Latin gods at the religious repast of the *lectisternium*. This Venus was the celestial Virgin of Carthage and Tyre, but at Cyprus she had become queen of Paphos and of Love; at Rome, too, she was soon made goddess of voluptuousness.

Cybele.¹

We have just spoken of the *lectisternium*. This custom, like so many other ancient ones, astonishes us; but by sacrifices the faithful entered into communion with the god, to whom they offered a part of the victim. In funeral repasts offerings were made to the dead; in domestic ones libations were poured out to the Lares; on great occasions the whole town or the senators, as its representatives, communed with the civic divinities by a public feast. It was a religious act, and it was thought necessary to the safety of the city that it should be accomplished.² We shall again find this usage commanded by religion in the funeral assemblies of the empire and in the *agapes* of the early Christians.

All this shows that the religion of the State was tottering, and that the Oriental religions which were to prove fatal to the Latin spirit were already making an effort to invade the city of Janus. But the terrors of the second Punic war again strengthened the ancient worship. The nearer Hannibal approached to Rome the more do omens multiply, and the more does faith revive. Later on we shall see what victory, safety and new spiritual needs make of it.

In the new political organisation a great change had also taken place. The people had effaced from the constitution the timocratic principle which Servius had introduced into it. The centuries of knights had been preserved, but the classes were abolished, and the assembly of centuries differed from the assembly of tribes only by a division which the hereditary respect of all Romans for age and experience imposed (*centuriæ juniorum et*

¹ Cybele on a lion, holding a sceptre and the *tympanon*, or drum of the priests. Reverse of a bronze coin of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian.

² Σωτήρια τῶν πόλεων σύνδειπνα. (Athen., *Deipnos.*, v. p. 186 a.)

seniorum).¹ This was the definite triumph of the principle of equality, in the name of which the tribunes had always fought. The constitution became, then, more democratic. This is seen in the nomination of Flaminius and Varro, who were raised to the highest offices in spite of the senate and the omens, and in that of Minucius and of the adventurers to whom the people entrusted armies against Hannibal. Moreover, the ancient and popular assembly of the tribes still existed, and when the tribunes resumed their revolutionary rôle it served their designs.

But a century still separates us from the Gracchi, and the aristocracy had advanced so far in manners, that even at the time

¹ The united texts of Livy, Cicero, and Dionysius unfortunately only throw partial light on the transformation of the assemblies of centuries. They say enough, however, to place it beyond doubt (Cf. Livy, i. 43, xxiv. 7, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 6; Cic., *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 2; *Pro Planc.*, 20; *De Leg.*, iii. 4; and every page of the *Demand of the cons.*; Dionysius, iv. 21; Polybius, vi. 4, etc.). But it seems that two attempts were made to effect this change. During the war with Hannibal, and up to the year 179—a time at which he speaks of a great change in the suffrage—Livy frequently (xxiv. 7, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 6) gives to the centuries the name of tribes. In the election of 211 each tribe appears divided into two centuries, one of *juniores* and one of *seniores*, which confirms the passage in Livy (i. 43): *tribus, numero earum duplicato, centuriis juniorum et seniorum*. At what period did this change take place? Necessarily after the Hortensian law, and according to Livy, *post expletas quinque et triginta tribus*. Perhaps in 220, during the censorship of Flaminius, by whom, says the 20th epitome: *libertini in quatuor tribus redacti sunt, quam antea [since 304] dispersi per omnes fuissent*. All the German writers differ on this date, because they do not see that there might have been two changes at different times. Franke gives 495; Walter and Peter, 450; Niebuhr, 305; Nobbe, 288; Ihne, 241; Goettling and Gerlach, 220; Schulze, 181. It seems to me, however, that we cannot go far wrong in placing this change in the interval between the two Punic wars. The number of thirty-five tribes was only completed in 241, and in 215 centuries of tribes are already seen. At this time of republican equality, of poverty and heroism, the timocratic principle of the census must necessarily have been effaced. It had already disappeared from the legions, whose organisation no longer depended on the division into classes established by Servius; the plebeians, who had lately won equality on all points, could easily cause it to disappear from the Forum too. Moreover, by the depreciation of the *as*, then reduced to the sixth of the value which it had still had before the first Punic war (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 13; Varro, *de Re rust.*, i. 10), 100,000 *ases* represented in 240 only 16,666 of the ancient ones, to which the rise in the price of commodities gave an infinitely smaller value than in the time of Servius. The result of this was that the same fortune which under Servius would have admitted a man into the fifth class, raised him in 240 to the first. In fact, the classes no longer existed, since an immense majority of the citizens found themselves in the first; there was therefore, no need of a revolution to abolish them, and their suppression passed unnoticed. Without classes there could be no centuries. The old division known and loved by the people, into *juniores* and *seniores*, was however preserved.

But the dangers of the second Punic war invested the senate with a kind of dictatorship, which they were unwilling to give up after having exercised it for fifteen years; the nobility was re-organised, acquired confidence in itself, and, in order to fortify its growing power, was desirous of re-establishing the categories of fortunes. Livy says of the censors of the year 179: *Mutarunt suffragia, regionatimque generibus hominum, causis et questibus, tribus descriperunt*

when equality was proclaimed as the principle of Roman society, a new nobility rose on the ruins of that which the laws of Licinius, Publ. Philo and Hortensius had destroyed. If there were still any patricians, the patriciate no longer existed as a political body. In the senate and in high offices plebeians were now more numerous than the descendants of the patrician families. In 205 the two consuls were plebeians; but these new men had only entered one after another into the senate; far from modifying the spirit of it, they had yielded to its influence and accepted that ancient policy which kept the public within the wise limits of a moderate democracy. Community of interest led to family alliances, which

(xl. 51), and thenceforth the classes, which indeed had always existed on the censors' books, since the tax was proportional to fortune, resumed their political character. In 169 he speaks of the centuries of knights and of many centuries of the first class. At the election of Dolabella Cicero (*Phil.*, ii. 33) cites the prerogative century, the vote of the first, second, and remaining classes. In all his speeches he mentions nothing but classes, though he looks upon the tribes as the fundamental division of the Roman people. It is these tribes that he subdivides into classes and centuries: *censores partes populi in tribus describunt, exin pecunias, civitates, ordines partiu[n]to* (*de Leg.*, iii. 3), and numerous testimonies confirm these words (Cf. Dionys., v. 21; Sallust, *de Ord. rep.*, ii. 8; Aulus Gellius, vii. 13, on the subject of the Voconian law and the figurative expression, to belong to the fifth class, in Cic., *Acad.*, ii. 23). In the two last centuries of the republic, then, the centuries and classes existed as they had formerly done, and rested on the same principle as the ancient division of Servius. Dionysius accordingly says: "The assembly by centuries is not destroyed, but modified; it has become more democratic" (iv. 21); no doubt of it, because there was no longer the same disproportion in the number of centuries as in the past. The passage in Livy (xliii. 16), where he only mentions twelve centuries of knights instead of eighteen, would be a proof of this.

I think then that since 241 the great assembly of the Roman people had been that of the tribes, each divided into two centuries, of *seniores* and *juniore*s; that in 179, as equality sank daily more out of sight, the categories of fortune were re-established, in a more democratic form however, than by Servius; these changes being, moreover, in perfect accord with the history of those times, ought, it seems to me, to be admitted without dispute. What now follows is merely hypothesis.

Thus each tribe contained classes, according to the passage in Livy for the year 179 and the texts indicated above, probably five, as of old, and as is expressly stated in the work *de Ord. rep.*, ii. 8, and the *Academica* of Cicero. Each class was divided into *juniore*s and *seniores*, as was each tribe before 179, as was each class after Servius, and as is proved by twenty passages in Cicero: *omnium ætatum atque ordinum* (*Att.*, iv. 1; *pro Flacco*, 7, etc.). There were, then, 35 tribes, containing 175 classes, subdivided into 350 centuries, together with 18 centuries of knights. Thus all the classes having the same number of centuries had the same number of votes. The small number of the wealthy did not overpower the crowd of the poor. Moreover the lot decided (since C. Gracchus) which should be the prerogative century whose vote, which was looked on as an omen, was generally followed by the others. These modifications then, gave as Dionysius affirms (iv. 21), a more democratic character to the assembly of centuries; let us note however, that the fate of an election or a law was really in the hands of the middle class, who by siding below or above, gave the majority to the rich or the poor. But the real assembly by tribes was not destroyed. The Gracchi made use of it to pass their laws in spite of the rich. As for the census of each class, it is difficult to determine. According to Livy

united the new nobility with the old, and the Roman aristocracy found itself not destroyed, but renewed by all these popular laws.

Those whose ancestors had striven most vigorously for equality, hastened to raise a barrier between themselves and the people, by using the right of images which every curule office gave. "When some person of high rank dies at Rome," says Polybius, "he is solemnly borne to the Forum with the images of his ancestors, preceded by the fasces and axes, and covered with a *prætexta*, a robe of purple or gold cloth, according as he had held the consulship or the prætorship, the censorship, or had the triumph. At the foot of the orators' platform they are placed on ivory seats, and the son of the dead man relates his exploits, and then those of his ancestors. Thus the reputation of great citizens is ever renewed; their glory becomes immortal, and the people cannot forget it." The cold Polybius himself grows animated at the sight. "It is the most exciting scene," cries he. It was also the surest means for the nobles to justify their ambition, even in the eyes of the people, by ceaselessly reminding them of their services. Jealous as the patriciate had formerly been of keeping new men from honours, they had decided since the first Punic war that the *ædiles* and not the treasury should henceforth bear all the expenses of the public games. Now it was necessary to pass through the *ædileship* before attaining the high offices. It was thus closing the access to them against all who had not a sufficient fortune to dare to canvass for this onerous magistracy.

To the ascendancy which fortune, birth, the habit of command, and

(xxiv. 1) we might fix it thus: the first class, above 1,000,000 *ases*; the second, from a million to 300,000; the third, from 300,000 to 100,000; the fourth, from 100,000 to 50,000; the fifth, from 50,000 to 4,000.

These figures may be disputed, because our texts are deficient, but the principle of the new organisation appears beyond a doubt; it is the fundamental principle of the Roman constitution: *ne plurimum valeant plurimi*, that is to say, the poor, who form the greatest number, must not have the preponderance. The tribunes, who now enter the senate and form part of the new nobility, are no longer party men, but statesmen; accordingly they willingly accept the organisation which prevents Rome becoming a frightful demagoguery; for as the number of new citizens increased daily, it was necessary to establish at any price an order which would ensure a certain preponderance to the old Romans. If the assembly by centuries had absorbed the assembly of tribes, Rome would have been an oligarchy, suspicious and tyrannical, like Venice. If the *comitia* by tribes had absorbed the *comitia* by centuries, Rome would have been a senseless democracy, like the Athens of Cleon [!]. By the existence of the two kinds of assemblies, the nobility and the people, the rich and the poor, preserved a balance till the day when the empire became too great, and it was necessary to sacrifice liberty to power.

the exclusive knowledge of the formulæ of law¹ gave them, there was added, for a great number the patronship of the allies. Every free nation of Italy had at Rome a patron who represented its interests, and in case of need, defended it before the senate or the people. The senate had, it is true, reserved the right of judgment on differences between the towns, of deciding on the complaints of citizens against their city, on crimes against Rome, on internal discords, etc.; but, generally speaking, they left this care to the patrons,² who were always chosen from influential families. This clientship of a city or of a whole people increased the consideration and the power of the nobles in a manner dangerous to liberty. Accordingly, in 234, a *prætor peregrinus* was created, who extended his jurisdiction over foreigners, and who, being placed between them and the nobles, restrained the patronage of the allies within limits, in which it could only be useful to the republic.

From another point of view this institution had grave social consequences. The *prætor peregrinus*, not being able to accord to foreigners the benefits of the civil laws of Rome, was obliged to seek among the rules of right or principles of natural equity, common to many nations, which constituted a new juridical domain, that of the right of nations. Thenceforth the *jus gentium* did not cease to make inroads upon the *jus civile*, or peculiar right of Rome, the narrow enclosure of which it finally carried by storm, and with it fell the privileges of the Quirites.

Thus, since the laws of Hortensius, the constitution had become more democratic, and still the aristocracy had been re-organised. The patriciate had been destroyed as a privileged caste; the nobility was allowed to continue as a class invested with honourable distinction.³ In a word, the laws were democratic, the customs were not; and this contrast, far from being a cause of weakness to Rome, gave her great strength, since it

¹ After Flavius (p. 292) the nobles had invented new formulæ; but they were divulged about 200, *jus Æmilianum*. (Pomponius, on the *Dig.*, I. ii. 2, § 7.)

² Claudii became the patrons of the inhabitants of Messina; Minutianus of fifteen Umbrian tribes; the Marcelli of the Sicilians; the Fabii of the Allobroges; the Gracchi of the Spaniards; Cato of the Cappadocians and Cypriotes, etc.: . . . *tum plebem, socios, regna colere et coli licitum*. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 55.)

³ These distinctions, says Polybius, are a great encouragement to virtue (vi. 53). This was Napoleon's thought when he destroyed the feudal nobility and created the Legion of Honour.

thus united the advantages of a popular government with those of an aristocratic state, without the inconveniences occasioned by the exclusive predominance of one or other of these political forms. If, however, the ancient tribunes had been unable to sever the aristocracy from the vitals of Roman society, if, deserting the people they themselves had gone over to the hostile camp, they had successors in the tribuneship who continued their work. They had abolished classes, and had only left the nobles that influence which everywhere attaches to great names and to great fortunes. At the same time the censors had driven back the freedmen¹ into the four city tribes. The nobility and the foreign masses were thus restrained, and the true Roman people ruled masterfully in the Forum, faithful to its gods, its manners and its discipline, because these new needs, this growing love of luxury, this contempt of ancient customs and ancient beliefs, which we have spoken of above, had not yet descended to the heart of the nation. This middle class which had conquered the Samnites, Pyrrhus and Carthage, was still as devoted, as brave, and even as numerous. For if the agrarian law was not faithfully observed, at least the watchfulness and the fines of the ædiles prevented the concentration of property, whilst the distributions of land multiplied small heritages and formed that nursery of Roman soldiers, whence Rome soon draws twenty-three legions.

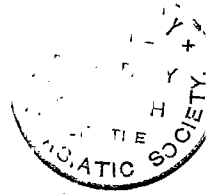
This period is the best age of Roman liberty. But it must be well understood that this liberty was not like that which we love; for the Roman citizen, whom we picture to ourselves so proud of his rights, was not sure of his social rank, which at each lustrum the censor might deprive him of without trial, or of the independence of a private life into which the same magistrate penetrated, armed with the severities of his irresponsible magistracy. This republican was the serf of the State, and everything—liberty, justice, morality—yielded at need to the maxim

¹ Livy, *Epit.*, xx. The wealth amassed by the *ævarii*, and their constant efforts to spread themselves through all the tribes, no doubt contributed to the abolition of the classes. Men saw the necessity of restricting the exercise of political rights to the plebeian proprietors and agricultors, who in that quality were interested in the preservation of the State and of liberty; but the *ævarii* ceaselessly strove against this limitation, which was renewed in vain in 304, in 220, probably in 181, and in 168. Clodius wished to distribute them through all the tribes. Under Nero they filled the equestrian order and the senate. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 26, 27.)

that the safety of the State is the supreme law, an excellent maxim when the citizen understands it as an obligation for him to devote his fortune and his life to his country, but a maxim which may become detestable when it is the government that decides what is required for the safety of the State.



Reverse of a Little Bronze Coin of Cadiz in Phrygia.



CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR UP TO THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ (218-216).

I.—HANNIBAL IN SPAIN.

IF the senate in answer to the appeal of Utica and the mercenaries, during the revolt of the armies of Carthage, had sent them two legions, it would have been all over with the great African city; Amilcar would not have undertaken the conquest of Spain, Hannibal would not have attempted that of Italy, and infinite ills would have been spared to numberless populations. Rome lacked boldness. It was not respect for good faith which stayed her. Her priests and augurs would easily have found the means to set at rest a conscience that was not over scrupulous; but on the morrow of the Punic war she had to bind up her wounds; and as she dared not risk a great iniquity, she contented herself with a small one—the indirect help given to the mercenaries in Africa and the seizure of Sardinia. Amilcar had time to save Carthage and to double her empire.¹

In the year 218, on the eve of the second Punic war, the possessions of the Carthaginians were dispersed from the Cyrenaica to the mouths of the Tagus and Douro, on a line of from eight to nine hundred leagues, but narrow, without depth, and liable at any moment to be cut, either by the African nomads in their rapid incursions, or by an enemy who could always find means to land on this immense stretch of coast. The Roman republic, on the

¹ For the Carthaginian names I now follow the usual orthography. If Hannibal, Hasdrubal, Amilcar were obscure personages it would be needful to call them by their true names, which are given in Punic inscriptions, Hannibaal, Azroubaal, and Ahmilcar or Abmilcar, the Latin form Amilcar answering to two different names, one of which signifies brother (*ah*), the other servant (*abd*) of Melkart. To write Hasdrubal and Hamilcar is a real mistake, for the aspiration in these two names is too feeble to be marked by an *h*; on the other hand it is very strong in Hannibal, which ought to have one. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

contrary, presented the aspect of a regularly constituted empire; Rome placed in the middle of the peninsula; the peninsula itself protected by three seas, and, beyond these three seas, like so many outposts guarding the approaches of Italy, Illyria, whence the legions kept watch over Macedonia and Greece; Sicily, whence they observed Africa; and Corsica and Sardinia, in the middle of the road to Spain or Gaul, and commanding the navigation of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

What added force to this rule, was that throughout the greatest part of Italy, it was accepted, if not with love, at least with resignation.¹ Poor and warlike nations prefer to pay tribute with blood rather than with gold; and Rome only asked soldiers of the Italians. In exchange for their stormy independence she had given them peace,² which favoured the development of population, agriculture, and commerce. They were no longer in dread lest some night a hostile troop should come and reap their fields, strip their vines and fruit trees, carry off their flocks, burn their villages, and lead their women and children into slavery. Rome had put an end to these evils and terrors, which before her time had been daily renewed at many points in Italy. Her censors covered the peninsula with roads, drained the marshes, built bridges over the rivers, and erected temples, porticos, and sewers in the Italian cities, so that Rome was not the only one to benefit by the spoils of the world.³ To defend the coasts against the descents of

¹ Livy says of the allies before Cannæ: . . . *justo et moderato regebantur imperio; nec admovebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere* (xxii. 13), and Polybius, speaking of Hannibal's ravages, extended as far as Campania without a single town going over to him, says: 'Εξ ὧν καὶ παρασημνίσαι' ἂν τις τὴν κατάπληξιν καὶ καταξίωσιν παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις τοῦ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματος (iii. 90). See in Livy the conduct of Naples and Præstum after Thrasimene; of Canusium, Venusia, Nuceria, and Acerræ after Cannæ; of Petelia, Consentia, and Cortona after the defection of Bruttium; the heroic resistance of the soldiers of Præneste and Perugia in Casilinum, and the courage of a cohort of Pelignians, who were the first to enter the camp of Hanno. In Sicily and in Sardinia, when the prætors demand money and provisions for their soldiers, the senate reply that they have nothing to send them, and the allies hasten to furnish all that is necessary (Livy, xxxiii. 22). For Petelia, compare especially Polybius, vii. fr. 1. It resisted for eleven months, and the inhabitants ate even leather and the bark of trees. It was two squadrons of Samnites (Livy, xxvii. 44) who led the messengers of Hasdrubal to Nero, and that general in his march from Canusium to the Metaurus was able to show his soldiers *quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebratur*. All along the route numerous volunteers joined him. Finally, we know that an army and a fleet were furnished to Scipio by the allies. 3

² By forbidding wars between town and town.

³ The consulship of Corn. Cethegus was passed in draining a part of the Pontine marshes. . . .

enemies or pirates, the senate had lately lined them with maritime colonies; to protect the Italian merchants they had declared war against the Illyrians and Carthage.¹ Some among the nobles made a noble use of their title of patrons of towns to carry out immense works for the profit of the allies. Thus Curius had become the protector of Reate by cutting a canal through the rock of a mountain to lead into the Nera the overflow of lake Velinus.² If we still possessed the second decade of Livy, we should no doubt find there many facts similar to these, which would prove that this domination, though established by force, and sometimes even by violence and perfidy, was excusable by the benefits it conferred.

The glory of Rome, moreover, was reflected upon the Italians, as that of Athens and Sparta had been an honour to Greece. All, in spite of the differences of their condition, closed round her at the news of a Gallic invasion, and we shall see the victorious Hannibal remaining two years in the midst of Italy without finding a single ally there. Time had cemented the edifice constructed by the senate during the Samnite war, and had made of all the Italian nations a mass immovable by its union. In the last countries subdued, however, there still lingered among the populace, whose patriotism is often more disinterested than that of the great, regrets for lost liberty.³ But everywhere the nobility had freely rallied round the Romans, as at Volsinii, Capua, Nola, Tarentum, and in Lucania; family alliances between this Italian nobility and that of Rome drew these ties closer. At Venice the nobles of the book of gold scorned those of the dry land; at Rome Ap. Claudius took

siccatae, agerque ex iis factus (Livy, *Epit.*, xlv.). For a later epoch see the works of Æm. Scaurus in Cisalpine Gaul during his censorship (Strabo, V. i. 11), and in Livy (xli. 27) the long enumeration of constructions made in Rome and in several towns of Italy by the censors of the year 174.

¹ During the war of the mercenaries. Later, in 179, as Tarentum and Brundisium complained of the Illyrian pirates, the senate armed a fleet; they did the same for the Massaliotes whose commerce was troubled by the Ligurian pirates. (Livy, xl. 18.)

² Cic., *ad Att.*, iv. 15. See pages 362 and 363. The Romans had also lowered the level of the lake of Alba, which frequently threatened to inundate Latium.

³ *Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiæ civitates, ut plebes ab optumatis dissentirent senatus Romanis faveret, et plebs ad Pænos rem traheret* (Livy, xxiv. 2). At Capua, during the revolt, it was men of the lower class who governed. The author of the movement was, it is true, a noble, but before the siege one hundred and twelve knights passed over to the Romans.

a Campanian for his son-in-law, and the ex-consul Livius married the daughter of a senator of Capua.¹

It was needful, then, that the empire of the Carthaginians, so colossal in appearance, should rest on equally firm supports. The enormous contributions levied on their subjects, and the atrocities of the Inexpiable war had doubtless not done much to reconcile them with the Africans. Utica, indeed, and Hippo-Zaryta had been desirous of giving themselves to the Romans. On the coasts of Numidia and Mauritania, some posts, at great distances apart, and surrounded by barbarians, were scarcely sufficient to afford aid to ships in the dangerous crossing from Spain.

In Spain itself the authority of Carthage, or rather of Hannibal, was securely established only in Bætica. In the rest of the country, as far as the Ebro, the



Vase of Nola.²

¹ Livy, xxiii. 4. He adds for Capua: *connubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentis Romanis miscuerat.*

² This beautiful vase with three handles, of Nolan manufacture, represents Jupiter and Ægina, painted in red on a black ground. Collection of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3330 in the Chabouillet catalogue.

tribes had been conquered, but not subdued; and the Roman generals could make an appearance there as liberators of the peninsula much more easily than Hannibal in Italy.¹

Hamilear had brought up his sons in hatred of Rome. "These are four lions' whelps," said he, pointing to them, "who will grow up for her ruin"; and Hannibal in his old age used to tell king Antiochus that before setting out for Spain, his father, in the midst of a solemn sacrifice, had made him swear eternal hatred to the Romans. "From the time of his arrival in the camp of Hasdrubal," says Livy, "he drew all eyes towards him. Old soldiers thought they saw Hamilear in his youth again: there was on his face the same expression of energy, the same fire in his glance. He presently needed no remembrance of his father to gain their favour. Never was there a mind more fitted for two opposite things, to obey and to command; so that it would have been difficult to decide which cherished him more, the general or the army. Hasdrubal never chose any other leader when there was some vigorous blow to be struck; and under no other did the soldiers show more confidence. Incredibly bold in confronting danger, he retained marvellous prudence in peril. No labour wearied his body or prostrated his spirit. He supported heat and cold equally well. For his food, he satisfied need, but never pleasure. His vigils and his sleep were not regulated by day and night. When his business was finished, he sought repose neither



Hannibal.²

¹ See Polybius (ix. 11, and x. 18, 35) on the haughtiness and exactions of the Carthaginian generals. Hasdrubal-Gisco had forced Indibilis, Mandonius, and Edecon to pay him great sums, and to give him their wives and daughters as hostages, and these latter had much to complain of in the conduct of the Carthaginians towards them.

² Bust in the Naples Museum. Probably the only thing about it belonging to Hannibal is the name it bears.

on a soft couch nor in silence. Often he was seen, covered with a soldier's cloak, stretched on the earth between the advanced sentinels or in the midst of the camp. His dress did not distinguish him from his companions; his whole luxury was in his horses and arms. At once the best of horsemen and of foot soldiers, he went into the fray first, and retired from it last. So many good qualities were accompanied by great vices, fierce cruelty, a more than Punic perfidy, no frankness, no modesty, no fear of the gods, no respect for the faith of an oath, no religion. With this mixture of virtues and vices he served three years under Hasdrubal without neglecting anything that a future general of the Carthaginian armies ought to see and hear."¹

Livy certainly exaggerates Hannibal's vices, and only puts in relief the qualities of the soldier. The history of the second Punic war will show us the great captain. Heir of the ambition of the Barcas, with more genius and boldness, Hannibal wished to create for himself at Rome's expense an empire which he was not strong enough to create at the expense of Carthage.² An Italian war was, moreover, a glorious means of putting an end to the strife which his family and his party were sustaining; and in spite of treaties, in spite of the cautious part of the senate,³ he began it. He asked nothing of Carthage, and put trust only in himself and his own: then, bringing over Spaniards and Gauls on his route, he crossed the Alps. His conduct before Saguntum; the choice of the route which he took so as not to place himself in dependence on the fleets of Carthage; his promises to his troops;⁴ his treaty with Philip; the forlorn state in which Carthage left him after Cannæ; the almost unlimited power which, when conquered, he yet seized in his own country, show his secret designs and what

¹ [This character seems written by Livy purely from a rhetorical point of view, and determined simply from the Roman view of the great war. Such feelings as justice to a noble foe, or real interest in the character of the wonderful Phœnician, were quite foreign to the vulgar patriotism of the historian.—*Ed.*]

² *Juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni.* (Livy, xxi. 10.)

³ Fabius said: οὐδένα . . . ἀξιολόγων (Polyb., iii. 8). In Livy (xxx. 22) the ambassadors agreed, after Zama, that the war was only between Rome and Hannibal, and that Carthage had no part in it. The Punic wars are indeed generally a war of races, but the second is essentially the conflict of Hannibal and Rome.

⁴ See p. 586. As regards the treaty with Philip, it stated that Italy should belong to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to Philip all the booty.

he would have made of that country's liberty had he returned as victor. The second Punic war is only a duel between Hannibal and Rome, and in this assertion we do not mean to diminish the importance of the struggle, because it will show what strength and inexhaustible resources there are in the genius of a great man, as in the institutions and manners of a great people.¹

Before commencing this war, it was necessary to secure Spain. The South and East were subdued, but the mountaineers of the centre and the upper valley of the Tagus were still resisting. Hannibal crushed the Olcades in the valley of the Xucar (221), the Vaccæans in that of the Douro, and the Carpetani on the banks of the Tagus in the environs of Toledo (220). The Lusitanians and the tribes of Galicia continued free, and Hannibal took care of wasting against them his time and forces. As far as Ebro Spain seemed submissive; this was sufficient for his designs.

In the treaty imposed by Rome on Hasdrubal, the independence of Saguntum to the south of Ebro had been formally guaranteed. In order to force on war, Hannibal besieged that place, which would have served as an arsenal and a point of support to the legions if he had left them time for arriving in Spain. This conduct was unjust but clever.² Saguntum, a Greek commercial city, half-way between the Ebro and Carthagera, came into competition on this coast with the Carthaginian merchants. Hannibal desired to offer it them as a victim, in exchange for the war which he forced them to accept. By the pillage of one of the largest cities in the peninsula, he reckoned also on buying beforehand the devotion of his soldiers. Rome sent some deputies to him; he refused to receive them under the pretext that he could not answer for their lives if they risked themselves among so many soldiers who were barbarians. The deputies went to Carthage to demand that the audacious general should be delivered up to them.

¹ Polybius says this: "After Cannæ, what made Rome triumph was the vitality of its institutions," *τῇ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ιδιότητι* (iii. 118).

² [It cannot possibly have been regarded unjust by those who remembered the Roman annexation of Sardinia. All wars are begun by violating treaties imposed by previous necessities.—*Ed.*]

In spite of the just resentment which Carthage had felt respecting the conduct of Rome in the matter of Sardinia, she did not desire war. Her rich merchants, seeing the Romans disdain the profits of commerce, and Marseilles, Syracuse, Naples and Tarentum prospering under their rule or in alliance with them, were becoming familiarised with the idea of the Roman supremacy. But the people and senate were ruled by the Barcine faction. In spite of Hanno's efforts, answer was made to the deputies that Saguntum had of itself kindled this war, and that Rome would be acting unjustly if they preferred this city to Carthage, their more ancient ally.¹

During these embassies, Saguntum was pressed with the utmost rigour. "Situated," says Livy, "about 1000 feet from the coast,² it had not the sea for defence, and Hannibal was able to attack it from three sides at once. His assaults were often renewed; in one of them Hannibal had his thigh pierced by a javelin. When his soldiers saw him fall, there was such confusion and fear among them, that the mantlets were nearly abandoned, and for some days the siege was turned into a blockade.

"Hannibal's wound being healed, the attack was obstinately renewed, and the works of approach reached the foot of the wall, which the battering ram shook in several places. Already the Carthaginians thought themselves masters of the city; but the Saguntines covering the city where the wall failed with their own bodies, checked the enemy in the midst of the rubbish. They used a javelin of spruce fir with an iron head, three feet long, which could pierce both armour and body. At the place where the iron projects from the handle was some tow steeped in tar, which was set alight at the moment the javelin was hurled, and the rapid movement fanned the flame. Thus the *falarica*—that was its name—caused much fright. Even when it was arrested on the buckler³ without wounding the soldier, it

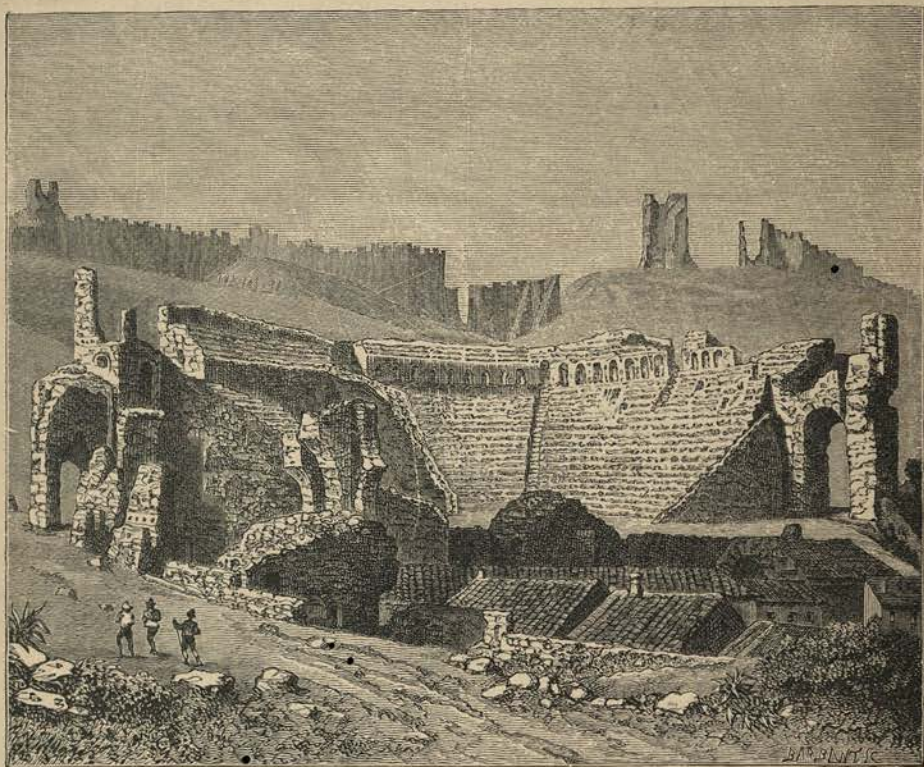
¹ [This is the account of Livy, probably borrowed from the conservative and patriotic Fabius Pictor, and very untrustworthy.—*Ed.*]

² Nearly 480 feet. The rock, 400 feet high, on which Saguntum had been built, is at present $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sea. (Hennepert, *Hist. d'Annibal*, i. 296.)

³ The buckler of the Roman soldier was of wood.

forced him, from fear of fire, to throw away his arms and expose himself undefended to the blow of the enemy."

These attacks took place before the arrival of the Roman deputies at the camp of Hannibal and at Carthage. They began again after the breaking off of the negotiations, and to excite the ardour of the soldiers, Hannibal promised them the whole booty of the city. "During the truce the Saguntines had raised a new



Remains of the Theatre of Saguntum.¹

wall behind the breach, but the assaults became more terrible than ever; the countless Punic army surrounded almost the entire circuit. The besieged being no longer able to defend the approach to their wall, a large opening was made by which the enemy entered the city. But a house to house fight began, and the Carthaginians having succeeded in getting hold of a height, surrounded it with a wall, and made it a citadel which they held in the city itself,

¹ De Laborde, *Voyage d'Espagne*.

and which commanded it. The Saguntines on their side covered with a new wall what they still held of their city. Shut up more closely day after day, they saw their destitution increasing and the hope of succour vanishing. Confidence returned for a while when it became known that Hannibal was obliged to march against the Oretans and the Carpetans, who broke out into revolt at the severity of the levies. But Saguntum gained nothing from the absence of the general; Maharbal, charged with the prosecution of the siege, showed such activity, that neither besiegers nor besieged were conscious of their chief's absence. Then two men, Alcon of Saguntum and the Spaniard Alorcus, tried to bring about an accommodation. The conditions demanded by the conqueror were such that Alcon did not even dare to report them. Hannibal left to the inhabitants only life and two garments; they must deliver up arms, riches, leave their city, and withdraw to a place which he would point out. Alorcus, who had formerly been the guest of the Saguntines, offered to carry these hard terms to them. He advanced in open day towards the enemies' sentinels, to whom he gave up his arms, and, having crossed the entrenchments, had himself conducted to the chief magistrate who introduced him to the senate. He had scarcely finished speaking, when the leading senators caused a funeral pile to be raised in the public place, on it they threw the gold and silver of the public treasury, then their own, and lastly themselves. This sight had already spread consternation in the crowd when cries arose; a tower fell, and a Carthaginian cohort, dashing forwards on the ruins, informed the commander-in-chief that the place was divested of its defenders. Hannibal hastened in with all his troops, and commanded all to be slain who were of an age to carry arms. "A cruel measure," says Livy, "but its necessity was proved by the event, for how could men be spared who burnt themselves in their houses with their wives and children, or who, with arms in their hands, fought to the last breath (219)?"¹

This heroic resistance, of which Spain affords other examples,

¹ Livy, xxi. 6—14. He says that all the defenders of the place were killed, *belli jure* (xxi. 13), but he himself relates later on that one of the first cares of the Scipios was to ransom the Saguntines. All therefore had not perished. Neither was Saguntum destroyed, for the

had lasted eight months. A part of the riches from Saguntum sent to Carthage reduced the numbers of the peace party, and when a second embassy came from Rome to demand a solemn reparation,



Figure in Toga.

it was the Romans whom they accused of violating treaties. The discussion was prolonged in the Council of the Ancients. At last Fabius holding out a fold of his toga, said: "I bring here peace or war, choose." "Choose, yourself," was the response from all sides. "Well then! war," replied Fabius.

Hannibal hastened his preparations. He sent fifteen thousand Spaniards to keep garrison in the places in Africa, and he called into Spain fifteen thousand Africans; both would serve as hostages for the fidelity of the two countries. His army

rose to 90,000 foot, with 12,000 horse and 58 elephants. A naval defeat would have irretrievably ruined his projects, and the fleet

Scipios took it in 215, and the Romans made a colony of it, which was still existing under the Empire. One of its coins, of very coarse workmanship, represents on the face Tiberius; on the reverse a ship's prow. Its ruins may still be seen near Murviedro (*Muri Veteres*), and the Spaniards there sustained a siege in 1811 against Marshal Suchet. The theatre built on the slope of a hill was then partly destroyed, its stones having been used in the fortifications.

of Carthage no longer were mistress on the Mediterranean. He resolved to open up a route by land. It was a very bold enterprise to go in search of the Romans in the very heart of Italy, leaving behind the Alps, the Rhone and Pyrenees. But since the adventurous expedition of Alexander, all seemed possible to audacity. Perhaps Hannibal did not believe Rome to be stronger in Italy than Carthage was in Africa. Emissaries secretly sent with gold to the Gauls and Cisalpine tribes studied the mountain passes and the dispositions of the peoples, and brought back favourable reports. The Boii and Insubres in the valley of the Po promised to rise *en masse*, and it did not seem difficult to rekindle the hardly quenched hatred of the last Italians whom Rome had conquered. Capua was not resigned to the obscure part of a subject city; the Samnites doubtless would be roused, and Tarentum and Etruria. And besides, there was no other choice than either to receive war or carry it into Italy. The consul Sempronius was already making immense preparations at Lilybæum for an invasion of Africa, and Scipio was levying troops which he hoped to lead into Spain. It was necessary to forestall them. The example of Regulus showed the advantages of offensive warfare; this system was besides the only one that suited Hannibal's position; and that to which he would be always compelled to return even after victories in Africa and Spain. If there were difficulties in the march, yet ought they to take into account the prestige which would surround the army, when the Italians should see descending from the summit of the Alps these soldiers who came from the Pillars of Hercules, and were bringing them liberty. Since Pyrrhus, no enemy had penetrated into Central Italy. In the midst of this rich district the war would support itself, and it would be possible to do without Carthage. If fresh forces were necessary, Mago, left between the Ebro and Pyrenees with 11,000 soldiers, Hasdrubal, who remained in Spain with 15,000 men, 55 ships and 21 elephants, would follow the route which Hannibal was going to mark out for them, recruiting on the road from all those Gauls so ill-disposed towards Rome, and who for a long time back knew and loved the lucrative service of Carthage.¹

¹ We shall follow in the main Polybius narrative. Unfortunately there remains of it, after

When he conceived this bold plan, Hannibal was only twenty-seven years of age; the age of Bonaparte at Lodi.¹

II.—HANNIBAL IN GAUL; CROSSING OF THE ALPS.

After a solemn sacrifice offered at Gades to Melkart, the great god of the Phœnician race, Hannibal set out from Carthægena in the spring of the year 218, and reached the bank of the Ebro with 102,000 men. On the other side of this river the country is difficult, bristling with mountains, one of which, Montserrat, about 4,200 feet high, is almost impracticable. He passed with the bulk of his forces between it and the sea, in the direction of Emporium, whilst detached corps went towards the north-west to drive back the mountaineers in their elevated valleys. He desired not to leave a single enemy between the Ebro and Pyrenees; we shall see the Scipios finding friends there very quickly. Many soldiers had deserted before crossing the mountains, others were filled with fear; he sent back eleven thousand, gave besides ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to his young brother Hanno to keep the passes, and entered Gaul with fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, all veteran soldiers devoted to him; thirty-seven elephants followed the army.

On leaving Carthage, the Roman ambassadors went to Gaul to persuade the barbarians to close the Pyrenæan passes against the Carthaginians. "At this proposition to fight for the people who had abandoned Saguntum and oppressed the Italian Gauls, there arose in the assembly of the Bebryces (Roussillon) such laughter," says Livy,² "mixed with angry cries, that the old men had difficulty in calming the younger." On their return to

the battle of Cannæ, only some fragments. Livy will then become our guide; he has borrowed much from Cincius Alimentus, who was one of Hannibal's prisoners, and certainly also from Polybius, whom he so often copies without acknowledgment. Appian has followed Fabius Pictor, also a contemporary. Cornelius Nepos gives very little information in his *Lives of Hannibal and Amilcar*. The lives of Fabius and Marcellus in Plutarch are rich in details. Silius Italicus has put Livy into verse. [Livy's sources often serve to correct Polybius.—*Ed.*]

¹ Clinton (*Fasti Hell.*, iii. pp. 20 and 52) places his birth in 247. He was then only twenty-six years old when the soldiers made him the successor of Hasdrubal, and twenty-seven when he subdued Spain.

² *Tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus.* (Livy, xxi. 20.)

MAP OF HANNIBAL'S ROUTE (according to the two prevalent opinions). See note p. 580.

History of Rome



Rome, the deputies declared that in all the Transalpine cities, except Marseilles, they had not heard one peaceful or hospitable word, and that the hatred for Rome and the money scattered by Hannibal's emissaries were preparing an easy route for the Carthaginian. It was prudent, therefore, to detain him in his own peninsula. The consul Sempronius, who was preparing for an invasion of Africa from Sicily, had orders to redouble his activity, and P. Scipio, his colleague, pressed on his levies for the army of Spain. At that moment the senate thought that four legions would be sufficient to take satisfaction from Carthage and this daring young chief; there were soon need of twenty-three against Hannibal alone.

They also took precautions against the Cisalpine tribes. To keep them in check two colonies, each of six thousand men, were sent to Cremona and Placentia. But the Boii and Insubres dispersed the colonists, chased them as far as Modena, which they besieged, and surprised in the midst of a forest the prætor Manlius, who was near perishing there. These events retarded the departure of Scipio, and deprived him of a legion which he was obliged to send to the colonies of the Po. However, when his fleet entered the port of Marseilles, he thought Hannibal was still on the other side of the Pyrenees, the Carthaginian was already on the Rhone.¹

The Bebryces had made a treaty of alliance with him;² the Arecomici saw their independence threatened by this large army which was approaching, and withdrew behind the Rhone in order to dispute its passage. Hannibal deceived them; he sent a part of his forces to cross the river secretly, 25 miles above the barbarians camp, with an order to take them in the rear, while he himself made the attempt to cross. Harassed by this double attack and by the burning of their camp, the barbarians dispersed. Hannibal had put his elephants on immense rafts and his troops on boats bought of all the tribes living on the river banks; the horses followed by swimming; the Spaniards had crossed on inflated leather skins and their bucklers.³

¹ On the passage of the Pyrenees by Hannibal, see the work of Hennebert. (Vol. i. p. 419—442.)

² This treaty referred to their wives the decision of the Carthaginians' claims against the native populations. (Plut., *de Virt. mulier.*)

³ The passage was made above Roquemaure, nearly 12 miles north of Avignon; that is at

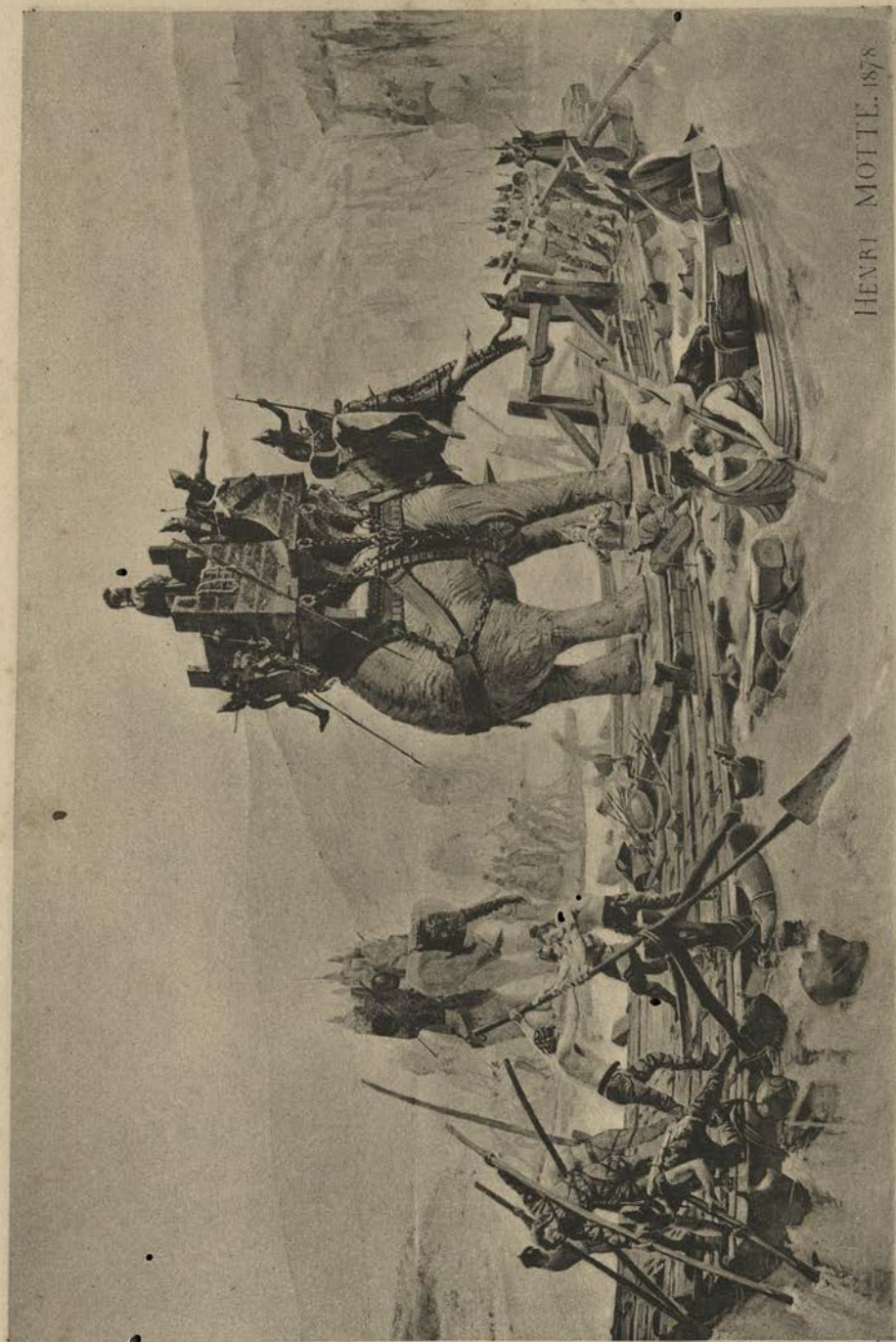
The next day five hundred Numidians descended the Rhone to reconnoitre the river lower down. They fell in with a reconnoitring party of three hundred Roman knights led by Gallic guides in the pay of Marseilles. The two troops charged. There returned only three hundred Numidians; the Romans had lost a hundred and sixty men, but they had remained masters of the battlefield.

Hannibal hesitated; he had still forty-six thousand men; ought he to pursue his march or return against the consul, who was raising his camp to come and attack him? A victory in Gaul would have decided nothing; besides, a Boian chief had just come to the camp, offering guides and the alliance of his people. Hannibal drew further away from the consul by ascending the river's course.¹ What route did he take? Here Polybius and Livy differ, and after them all modern writers. Polybius had visited the places and questioned the mountaineers who had seen the expedition pass; his narrative ought to be followed; unhappily he does not remove all the difficulties which will doubtless remain

least the opinion of Letronne, adopted by Hennebert. The widespread use of *utres*, inflated skins, like our fishermen's buoys for nets, is well explained in M. Lenthéric's charming book on the old delta of the Rhone and the Roman remains in Provence.

¹ [He meant evidently to ascend the valley of the Durance, which is the most southern affluent of the Rhone, and this would have made his journey much shorter. He was obliged to take the next river-course, that of the Isère.—*Ed.*]

² Out of 90 dissertations which appeared before 1835, 33 of them are in favour of the Little St. Bernard, which, having only 6,750 feet of elevation, is the easiest passage of the whole chain; 24 are for Mount Genève; 19 for the Great St. Bernard; 11 for Mount Cenis; and 3 for Mount Viso. How many others since that date! The passage by the Simplon, which has also been named, Hannibal would have rejected as too far towards the north and east, as it would have made him lose much valuable time; the passage by the Great St. Bernard is very difficult, especially at the beginning of October. His Insubrian guides must have known the shortest route, and this was that of the Little St. Bernard, by which Hannibal arrived in a straight line from the valley of the Isère to the neighbourhood of the Insubres, his allies. The immense détour which some propose to gain the river Durance by very difficult country, and where Scipio, whom he was avoiding, would have been able from Marseilles either to hinder him or come up with him, made him debouch by Mount Genève or Mount Viso on the lands of Ligures Taurini, the enemies of his allies. From this side he had to fear that the Taurini, directly threatened by his approach, would have summoned to themselves the mass of the Ligurian population of that region. His guides could not have pointed out to him such a route. His aim was to reach Italy as quickly as possible, and to descend into a friendly country in order to have time to refresh his army before fighting. Points of strategy ought to prevail over geographical advantages, which moreover, are uncertain. However, the theory of the passage by Mount Genève has found again quite lately some clever defenders in M. Desjardins (*Géogr. de la Gaule Romaine*, vol. i. pp. 86–94) and Hennebert (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 43 *et seq.*). Without wishing to draw any conclusion relative to Hannibal's crossing, I notice



HENRI MOTTE. 1878

Photographie Goupil & Co

Il. M. Goupil

General's army crossing the Rhone

insurmountable.¹ Besides, whether Hannibal crossed by Mount Cenis, Viso, Genèvre or the Little St. Bernard is of small consequence to history, which is above all interested in the result; viz., the Alps boldly crossed by a large army.

After four days' march, Hannibal entered "Isle of the Allobroges," which is formed by the Rhone and Isère. Two brothers, in this country, were disputing for the supreme power; he took the part of the elder, helped him to conquer, and received in return food and clothing, of which the soldiers would soon have such need. The new king wished even to accompany him with all his barbarians to the very foot of the mountains. Already were the Alps in sight, with their eternal snows and threatening peaks. But Hannibal had caused the speech of the Boian deputies to be translated to his troops, their promise of guiding them by a short and sure route, the picture which they drew of the magnificence and richness of the country beyond the Alps. Thus, the sight of these dreaded mountains, far from depressing their spirits, animated the soldiers² as if they saw the goal of the war, as if they were the walls of Rome, as Hannibal expressed it, which they were going to scale.

It was in the middle of October that the Carthaginians entered among the Alps.³ The snow already hid the pastures and paths, and nature seemed struck with torpor; a pale autumn sun only partially dissipated the thick fog which every morning enveloped the army, and long and cold nights, disturbed by the solemn sounds

the fact that the route by the Little St. Bernard was so much employed from high antiquity that it had been consecrated by a megalithic monument. On the most elevated point of the pass, at a height of 6,368 feet, exists a cromlech, or circle of raised stones, which is 230 feet in diameter, and which the route crosses. There has been found no trace of sepulture or worship, and it could not be a place of meeting for the deputies of the neighbouring peoples. What does this monument commemorate? I do not know. M. Al. Bertrand, the learned curator of the Museum of St. Germain, thinks this cromlech very ancient. It is one proof the more that this pass was known and used before Hannibal.

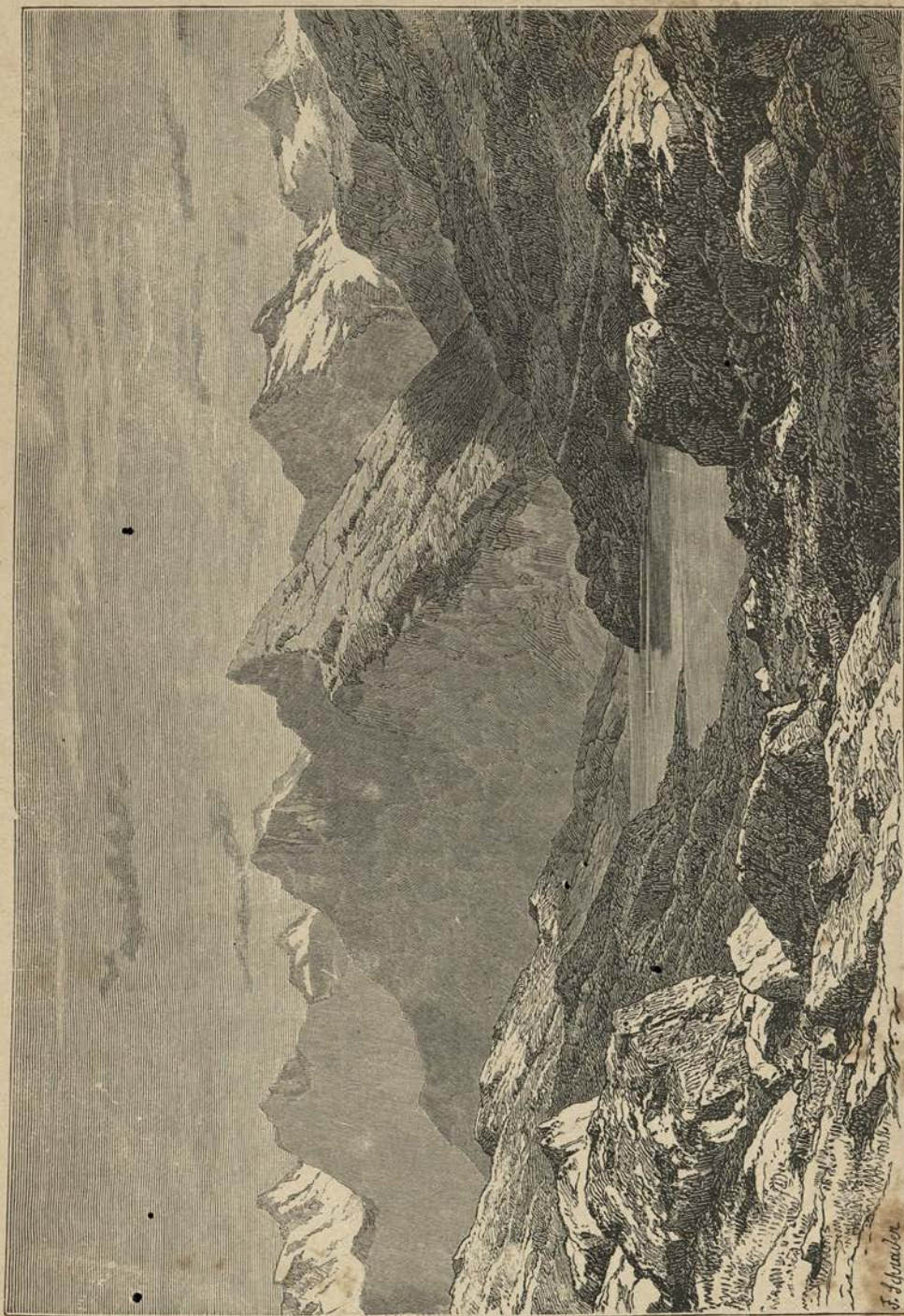
¹ [On the other hand, it is the opinion of Neumann (*Das Zeitalter der Pun. Kriege*, p. 286) that Livy follows better sources, and is our best authority.—Ed.]

² Polybius makes light beforehand of the declamations written and unwritten about the terrors of the Alps: *moles propè celo immixtæ*, etc., the sight of high mountains, far from repelling, attracts. Spain, besides, and the Pyrenees, whence started Hannibal's soldiers, contain peaks as imposing as those of the Alps. The Cerro de Mulhacen, which they had seen in Bætica, is only 3,800 feet less than Mont Blanc.

³ Ideler., *Chronol.*, i. p. 241. Daudé de Lavalette (*Recherches sur l'histoire du passage d'Annibal d'Espagne en Italie*) makes him reach the summit of the Alps on the 26th of October.

of distant avalanches, and torrents rolling at the foot of precipices, froze the limbs of these men of Africa. Yet the cold and snow, the precipices and the untrodden paths were not the greatest obstacles, for the mountaineers attempted several times to bar the route against the Carthaginians. One day Hannibal found himself in front of a defile guarded by the Allobroges, and which was commanded in its whole length by perpendicular rocks crowned with enemies. He stopped and had a camp pitched; fortunately the Gallic guides informed him that at night the barbarians would retire to their town. Before the next day he held the defile and heights with light troops. Still there was a bloody fight and terrible confusion for some hours. Men, horses, beasts of burden rolled down the precipices; a number of Carthaginians perished. However, the army passed, took the town, and found in it victuals and horses which replaced those they had lost. Further on another tribe appeared before Hannibal, carrying branches as a sign of peace, and offering hostages and guides. He accepted them, but took care not to be deceived. The cavalry and elephants, the very sight of which frightened the barbarians, formed the advanced guard; the infantry was in the rear, the baggage in the centre. On the second day the army entered a narrow gorge, where the mountaineers attacked it, hidden in the hollows of the rocks. For a night Hannibal was cut off from his advanced guard; it was the last attack. After nine days marching he reached the summit of the mountain, and there stopped two days to give rest to his troops. From thence he pointed out to them the rich plains of the Po, and in the distance, the direction of Rome, their promised prey. The descent was difficult; they found in a defile a glacier covered afresh with snow, and in which men and horses were entangled. The pass was elsewhere so narrow that the elephants could not pass; three days were lost in digging a path in the rock for them. At last, on the fifteenth after his departure from the "Isle," he reached the lands of the Insubres, in the vicinity of the territory of the Taurini.¹ The crossing had cost him, by his own admission, twenty thousand men. He had remaining

¹ . . . εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰνσούβρων ἔθνος. (Polyb., iii. 56.)



Views of the Alps (Mont Cenis).

(206), and Scipio now began to think of Africa. Numidia, adjacent to the Carthaginian territory, was divided between two rival princes, Masinissa and Syphax. The former, who had served in Spain with the Carthaginians, felt his fidelity give way under so many heavy reverses, and opened negotiations secretly with Scipio. Syphax, on the contrary, had also fought for Rome, but his misfortunes rendered him circumspect. For the sake of deciding the two kings and uniting them against Carthage, Scipio did not hesitate to go over himself into Africa. At the court of the barbarian king he met Hasdrubal, who had come on the same errand, and he was able to get the better of him by his address and persuasive eloquence. Returning into Spain, he made haste to bring the war to an end; he took what towns remained in the enemy's power, and Gades, being abandoned by Mago, whom Carthage sent into Liguria to renew the attempt made by Hasdrubal, opened to him her gates.

At this juncture is placed an event which was of no importance as regards the war, but of very great consequence in the history of Rome—a military sedition. We have already noticed the case of a tribune whom Regulus was forced to threaten with rods because he refused after Ecnomus to go into Africa. In 253 it had been necessary to degrade 400 knights on account of their insubordination, and a little before this a legion in Rhegium had revolted. This time it was part of the army in Spain, the 8,000 men in camp at Sucro, guarding the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, who upon a rumour of Scipio's death broke out in revolt. They drove their tribunes out of the camp, and gave the rods of office to common soldiers; they believed that Spain was about to fall into disorder and promised themselves an opportunity for plunder. A delay in respect to their pay served as a pretext; but Scipio was not dead, and the rumour of his restoration to health was enough to stop the insurrections upon which the revolting troops depended. He sent to the camp seven tribunes with no message of anger whatever; perhaps he sent word to the rebels that their services had not been sufficiently recompensed, and it was certain that money was due them; the general was collecting it among the allies; already at Carthage the treasury of the army was receiving the result of the tributes; if

the troops would go to Carthageria they should be paid. "Hither they came, confident in their numbers and re-assured against any severity by the rumour that the rest of the troops were to be sent away under Silanus for an expedition against the Laletani. Upon their approach the army at Carthageria did indeed march out, but at the gates they stopped, and while the rebels convoked on the morrow, unarmed, in the market place, find Scipio seated on his tribunal, the army returns; they close all means of egress, and noiselessly surround the Forum. Scipio addresses the mutineers at considerable length to allow the troops to make their dispositions; first in the tone of a friend reproaching them, then with the displeasure of a chief whose confidence has been betrayed, finally with the severity of the pro-consul and the indignation of the patrician who has seen the gods, the auspices, the majesty of the law, the sacred rights of country violated. "There must be blood to expiate crimes like these!" At these words a great clash of arms is heard, the shock of the swords and bucklers in the army of Silanus, and the herald announces that a council condemns thirty-five of the guilty. Enticed the night before to houses where they had been stupified with liquor, they are seized without difficulty. Dragged naked into the midst, they are bound and scourged and then put to death. After this, the dead bodies being removed and the place purified by the priests, each soldier is required to renew his oath before the military tribunes, and there receives the arrears of his pay. Not a cry nor a murmur rises from the affrighted cohorts.¹ The sedition is at an end, but this outbreak reveals the change that is going on in military manners; and constant war will accelerate this transformation of the citizen-soldier, who defended his country into the mercenary soldier, who will presently sell her.

Scipio was then free to return to Rome, and to solicit, or rather to accept the consulship (206). But before quitting Spain he founded for his veterans, in Bætica, that colony of Italia whence came the two most distinguished emperors of Rome, Trajan and Hadrian.

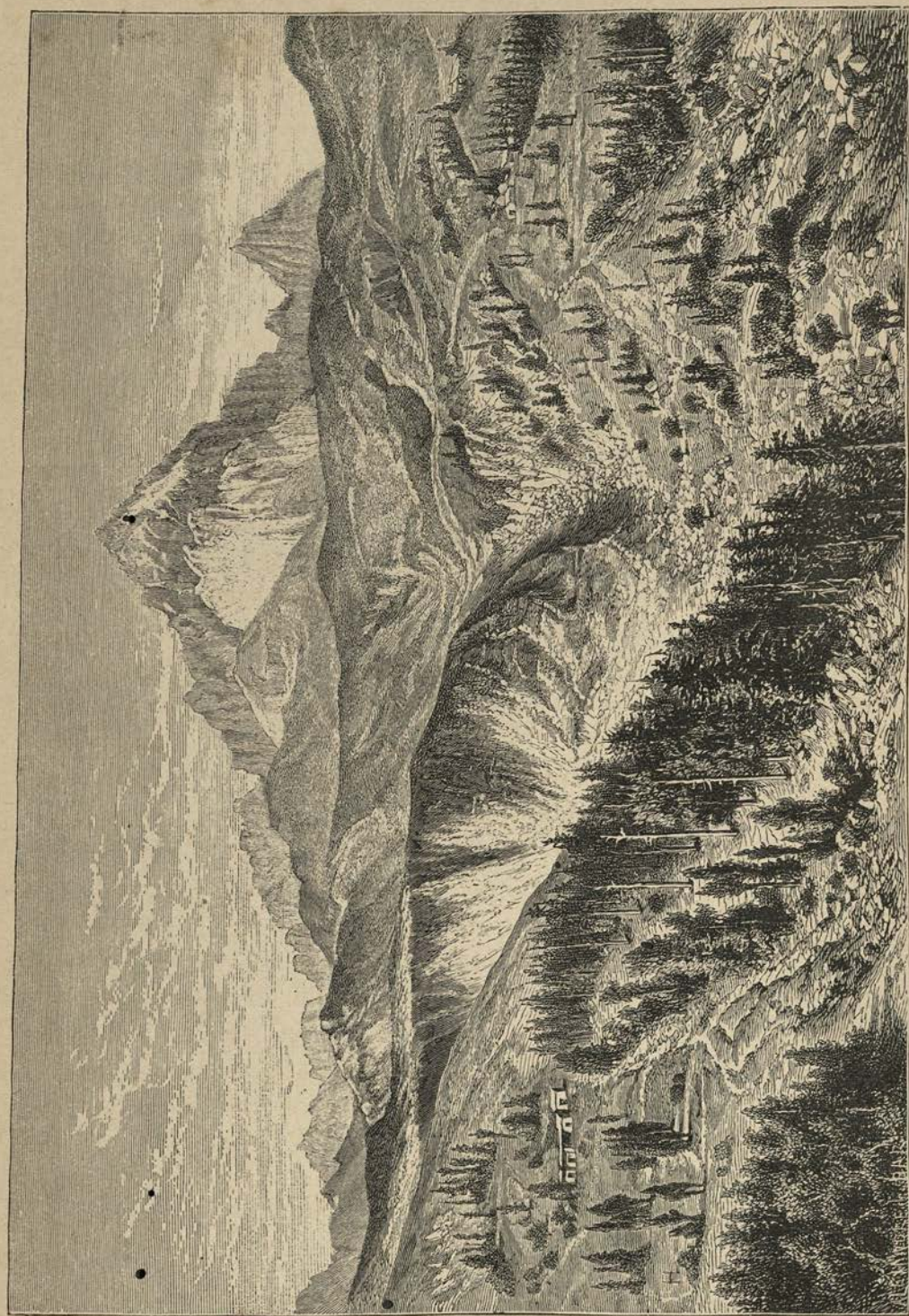
He also conceived the idea of making a public impression

¹ Livy, xxviii. 24-29.

his army in a circle, and brought into its midst some young mountaineers who had been made prisoners, all covered with wounds, loaded with irons, and weakened by hunger. He showed them some brilliant garments, rich arms, warhorses, and asked them if they were willing to fight together. The conqueror shall have liberty and these presents; death will free the conquered from the horrors of captivity. They joyfully accepted, fought hard, and triumphed or died cheerfully. Hannibal, then addressing himself to his soldiers, showed them in these prisoners, in this fighting, their own case. Shut in between two seas and the Alps, they can never see their native land again, unless they open up the road by victory. Either lead a wretched life in slavery, or die gloriously, or conquer and win the riches of Italy. To the spoils of Rome he will add lands in Spain, Italy, Africa, everywhere where they shall ask them; and he will make them, if they desire it, *citizens of Carthage*.¹ May the gods slay him, if he fail in these promises, as he himself slays this lamb; and, seizing a stone, he crushes the head of the victim against the altar.

The activity of Hannibal had disconcerted the plans of the senate; the question was no longer of fighting in Spain nor of besieging Carthage, but of saving Italy. Sempronius, whose fleet had already gained a naval victory and taken Malta, was recalled; Publius Scipio, after his futile attempt to check Hannibal by a battle on the banks of the Rhone, had voluntarily left his province, sent his brother Cneus into Spain with his legions, and took the route to Italy by sea. He hoped to reach the foot of the Alps in time to crush the army in its descent, while distressed by fatigues and privations. This time, again, in spite of his diligence, he arrived too late. From Pisa he had reached Placentia, taken the command of the Roman forces scattered along the Po, and crossed that river in order to place himself behind the Ticinus, between the Carthaginians and Insubres. With its source at the St. Gotthard, the Ticinus forms, at the foot of the Alps, Lago

¹ *Agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui acceperisset, liberisque . . . qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum* (Livy, xxi. 45). Neither Bonaparte nor Cæsar would have dared to speak with such disdain of the rights of the real sovereign power, the people, the senate, and the law. But in Livy's case one always entertains some scruples: were these the words of the general or of his historian? They tell us, at least, what Livy thought of the Carthaginian hero.



Views of the Alps (Monte Viso).

Maggiore, which it leaves clear, rapid and deep, to fall into the great Italian river below Pavia; there was the frontier of the Insubrian territory.¹ Scipio hastened thither. But if the Romans were very brave, well armed, and well organised into legions, their generals, renewed yearly, were not experienced tacticians, still less strategists. In place of taking up a position behind the Ticinus, of which he should have made a good line of defence, Scipio passed it with his horse and light infantry. Hannibal pushed forward at the same time a reconnaissance from this side. A short and sanguinary action took place. The Numidians, by the rapidity of their charge, soon had the advantage over light-armed men, whom they defeated, and also caused the Roman cavalry to give way. The consul himself was wounded; but for his young son, the future conqueror at Zama, he would have perished.

This battle of the Ticinus had been only an affair of the advanced guard; but Scipio, recognising the Carthaginians' superiority in cavalry, fell back behind the Po, and resolved to avoid fighting on the plain; but he did nothing in the way of disputing with the enemy the passage of the river, which Hannibal easily crossed. One night, 2,000 Gauls, in the service of the Romans, massacred the guards of the camp and went over to the Carthaginian, who sent them to their homes laden with presents; they were to arouse among their people defections fatal to the Romans. The consul had first made a stand at Placentia. To prevent himself from being shut up in this place, he took up a position in a valley which opens on this city, and where he had at his rear the Apennines, which Sempronius was skirting in order to join him. He fixed his camp on the heights above the Trebia. This torrent, sadly famous in French history as in that of Rome, leaves the Apennines at the bottom of a narrow valley, which expands into a plain only 12 miles from Placentia. There, Scipio awaited the arrival of his colleague Sempronius, whom he had called to him, and who in forty days had come with all his troops from Rhegium to Ariminum. What route did these legions take from the Adriatic coast to the Trebia? To cross Cisalpine Gaul by the

¹ Breadth at Buffalora, 533 to 660 yards; lower it reaches sometimes 2,000. (Hennebert, *op. cit.*, i. 322.)

country of the Boii was to be exposed to attacks from the Gauls and to the peril of encountering Hannibal before effecting a junction with the other consular army. Sempronius seems to have taken the route by Etruria, to have followed the southern side of the Apennines, which would have covered his march, and to have debouched by the ridges which afforded a passage behind Scipio.¹

The Romans had a part of their magazines at *Clastidium*, a fortified post on the Po, up the stream from Placentia. Hannibal surrounded this place, frightened or gained over the commandant, a native of Brundisium, and entered it—a precious acquisition for him and a very great loss to the Romans. Sempronius was only the more eager to fight. Polybius, a friend of the Scipios, says that Sempronius, proud of a slight success gained in a skirmish, wanted, in spite of his colleague, to give battle, so as not to leave to the generals of the following year the honour of delivering Italy. It was not possible that two consuls and forty thousand Romans should refuse to fight these Carthaginians, whom, in the first Punic war, they had so often conquered, and it was not merely that he might observe from the elevation of his entrenched camp the laying waste of the plains of the Po that Sempronius had been recalled from Sicily. This general was right, therefore, in fighting, but he was wrong in getting beaten. One morning the Numidians drew near to provoke the camp before the hour when the soldiers took their meal, and drew them on beyond the frozen waters of the Trebia right to the centre of a plain where Hannibal had hidden, in the bed of a torrent, two thousand men, entrusted to his brother Hanno. Weakened by hunger, the cold, and the snow, which the wind beat into their faces, the Romans were half conquered, when they suddenly ran against the Carthaginian infantry, well fed, fresh in strength, their limbs made supple with oil, and whom Hannibal had kept to the very last moment under their tents or before large fires. Nearly twenty-five thousand Romans perished or

¹ This is the opinion of Commandant Hennebert (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 481), and the text of Polybius, who clearly places the Carthaginian army to the east of the Trebia, renders this conjecture very probable. [There is some difficulty in the march of Sempronius, owing both to the silence and confusion of our authorities, who speak as if he had gone by sea round Italy to Ariminum.—*Ed.*]

disappeared; ten thousand only with Sempronius broke through the Gauls of Hannibal¹ and reached Placentia, where, when night came on, Scipio collected some fugitives—those who had been able to regain the camp. This great success was due to the Numidian cavalry, at present three times more numerous than that of the legions,² and which had thrown the two wings into disorder, whilst Hanno's horse threw the main body into confusion by attacking it in the rear.

The defeat at the Ticinus had repulsed the Romans across the Po, that of Trebia repulsed them beyond the Apennines; except Placentia,³ Cremona, and Modena, Cisalpine Gaul was lost to them.

So far, Hannibal's plan had succeeded. But while he was opening up the route to Rome, Cneus Scipio in Spain closed against his brothers that into Gaul. Troops sent into Sardinia, Sicily, Tarentum, garrisons put into all the strong places, and a fleet of sixty galleys, cut his communications with Carthage. This caused him little fear, for the Gauls were flocking in crowds to his standard, and the Italian prisoners, treated kindly, then released without ransom, were going, so he thought, to gain over the peoples of the peninsula. Of the two routes which led thither, though he took the more difficult, yet it was shorter, and in spite of the advanced season, he tried to cross the Apennines. A terrible storm, like those which sometimes burst forth in these mountains, drove him back. He returned to Cisalpine Gaul and waited, in the mean time blockading Placentia for the return of spring.

IV.—THRASIMENE (217) AND CANNÆ (216).

Napoleon has said, "If you hold North Italy, the rest of the peninsula falls like a ripe fruit." That was true of his time, when on both sides of the Apennines all was ripe for a speedy

¹ According to Polybius, almost all the dead on Hannibal's side were Gauls.

² Accustomed to fight in a mountainous country, the Romans had only a small force of cavalry; at the Trebia, 4,000 horse to 36,000 foot, or 1 to 9. Hannibal had more than 10,000 to 20,000 foot, or 1 to 2. Napoleon also greatly increased the proportion of cavalry in the French armies, and military writers agree in laying down the principle that the cavalry ought to be to the infantry as 1 to 4, 5 or 6, according to the nature of the ground where they fight.

³ Sempronius, shut up in this city, gained, however, some advantages over Hannibal. (Livy, xxi. 57, 59.)

fall; but not so in Hannibal's time, because a brave, disciplined people, resolved on conquest, awaited there the invader behind the triple and impregnable rampart of cities surrounded by Cyclopean walls, connected by good roads.

The Gauls had reckoned on a rapid expedition, on obtaining booty, and it fell to them to feed the army and submit to discipline. This discontent led to many plots, from which Hannibal escaped, so it is said, only by continual disguises, appearing at one time as a young man, at another as an old man, and thus baffling the plots or inspiring in these rude minds a sort of religious respect.¹ As soon as the cold weather broke up he determined to go into Etruria in search of those legions which had not dared to dispute Cisalpine Gaul. To deceive them again, he took the most difficult route by plunging into the midst of immense marshes, where for four days and three nights the army marched in water and mud. The Africans and Spaniards, placed in the vanguard, passed without serious loss, but the Gauls, who followed on ground already beaten in, kept slipping at every step and falling. Without the cavalry, who followed them close, they would have retreated; many perished. Almost all the baggage and beasts of burden stuck in the marsh. Hannibal himself, mounted on his last elephant, lost an eye by the watchings, fatigues, and dampness of the nights.² On leaving these quagmires, which were dried up when the Æmilian way was afterwards laid down, he entered the Apennines, cleared them at the defile of Pontremoli, and descending into the valley of the Arno, marched by Fæsulæ on Arretium.

If the Romans, watching all his movements, had come and attacked him on leaving the marsh or the mountain, they might have checked his good fortune. But they did not know how to make war with this foresight. Encamped under the walls of Arretium and Ariminum, they patiently awaited the appearance of the enemy by the usual routes, forgetting that the Gauls, eight

¹ Εδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν. (App., *Bell. Ann.*, 6.)

² These marshes are generally placed with Livy to the south of the Apennines in the valley of the Arno. Micali maintains (2nd part, cap. xv.) that they were on the other side of the mountains, in the territory of Parma and Modena. Polybius' narrative is not opposed to this, and Strabo (V. i. 11) says so expressly.

years before, had made use of another, which without the happy inspiration of the consul Æmilius, would have led them direct to Rome. The legions at Arretium were commanded by Flaminius, who as tribune had passed an agrarian law; as consul, had conquered in spite of the augurs; as censor, had executed some works of public utility, which were paid for out of monies which the tenants of the State forests, pastures, and mines owed to the treasury, and which, by connivance of the senate, they often forgot



A Haruspex.¹

to pay. The people had just given him, in spite of the nobles, a second consulate. Recently Flaminius had further increased the hatred of the nobility against himself by supporting a law which prohibited any senator having at sea a ship of more burden than three hundred *amphorce*.² So to annul his election, the most sinister presages had appeared; some contrived by those who had

¹ A haruspex consults the entrails and the liver of an ox, which has just been sacrificed, and seems to be giving account of what they presage. The victimarius holds in his right hand the hatchet (*malleus*) with which he has struck the victim, and the vessel where he has received its blood. This bas-relief is perhaps the only one which shows this ceremony. Museum of the Louvre, No. 439 in the Clarac catalogue.

² Livy, xxi. 63.

a purpose in producing them, and all accepted by popular credulity, may even by the most serious people.

At Lanuvium, Juno had shaken her lance; burning stones had fallen at Præneste, and meteors had shone at sea. In the country of Amitemum white phantoms had been seen; at Falerii the *lots* had grown thin, and on one of them was read, "Mars brandished his lance." At Cære the waters had rolled with blood; at Capena two moons were seen in the sky. In Sicily some flames had shone at the point of some lances; in Gaul a wolf had snatched away a sentinel's sword; bucklers had sweated blood; ears of corn had fallen covered with blood under the sickle—foolish fears born of strange beliefs or frights caused by misunderstood phenomena, and which prove that the human mind can bring forth silly fancies even amongst a people the most dispassionate in the world. In the name of the senate the prætor of the city promised rich offerings to the gods if they would preserve the republic for ten years in

her whileome state; the matrons dedicated a bronze statue to the Aventine Juno, and continual sacrifices, solemn prayers filled the city and army with superstitious fears. The newly-elected consul did not take these into consideration. Certain of being detained at Rome by false auspices,¹ he set out secretly from the city without having been invested at his own house, according to custom, with the *toga prætexta*, the badge of office, without having put on at the Capitol the *paludamentum*, or military robe, or having offered up on the Alban Mount the dutiful sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris.



Juno.¹

¹ After a statue which is at Rome. (Ménard, *la Myth. dans l'art ancien et moderne*, fig. 42).

² *Auspiciis ementiendis* (Livy, xxi. 63). The tribune Herennius accused the augurs the year after of pious frauds. (Livy, xxii. 34.)

To justify this neglect of the gods and of very old customs, a victory was necessary. Polybius says that he sought one with presumptuous imprudence. Yet we see him awaiting in his camp at Arretium Hannibal's attack, and when the Carthaginian, who, being without siege-train, was able neither to take a city nor storm a camp, had passed by him, he follows his steps without hurrying, informs his colleague, who sets forth from Ariminum with all his forces, so that he could hope to renew the campaign so happily terminated lately at Telamon. In fine, he was not the assailant at Lake Trasimene; but he was wrong, and he paid for this with his life, in not making a more cautious march, and in falling blindly into the snare which his clever adversary laid for him. Hannibal had left behind him the high walls of Arretium and Cortona, when, 7 miles south of this latter city, he found himself, by going round a spur of the mountains, on the banks of Lake Trasimene (*Lago di Perugia*), a sheet of water not deep, but 8 miles broad and 10 miles long. On the side where the road passes, the hills of the Gualandro (*Montes Cortonenses*) form a semi-circle, the ends of which gradually fall towards the lake, near two villages — Borghetto on the north and Tuore on the south. It is a natural theatre enclosing a little plain, invisible till you enter it. As the route ran by the side of the lake, Flaminius, who was pursuing the Punic army, would of necessity be entangled in this snare without means of escape.² Hannibal there awaited him. He placed his heavy infantry at the end of the plain to close the way to the south, dispersed his slingers over the heights, and in the hollows of the grounds, and

Paludamentum.¹

¹ After a bas-relief of Trajan's Column.

² . . . *loca nata insidiis*. (Livy, xxii. 4.)

from their marching order into order of battle. It was a horrible *mêlée*; it lasted only three hours, but with such obstinacy that the combatants were not aware of an earthquake which at the same time shook the mountains. Flaminius was slain by an Insubrian horse soldier; 15,000 of his men perished, as many were made prisoners; very few escaped.¹ A stream which crosses the fatal plain still preserves the remembrance of this great massacre, the *Sanguinetto*. Hannibal had lost only fifteen hundred men, almost all Gauls.² The next day four thousand horse, sent by the other consul, fell besides into the midst of the victorious army, and some days after a fleet of transports, which was carrying munitions of war to the army of Spain, was captured near Cosa by the Carthaginians (217).

From Thrasimene to Rome it is only 35 leagues; the route was free for the other consular army, which had just lost all its cavalry, was still far in the rear of the Carthaginians, and the Numidians already showed themselves under the walls of Narnia, two days' journey from the Capitol. However, Hannibal did not think himself strong enough, notwithstanding the destruction of two armies, to risk a march on the great city. His good treatment of the Italian prisoners, whom he continued to send back without ransom, had as yet brought him no advantage. Etruria gave no sign of affection to this friend of the Gauls; and the first city that he attacked after Thrasimene, the colony of Spoleto, victoriously repulsed him.³ Since his departure from Spain, his troops had had no repose; he had in his train many wounded and sick; men and horses were covered with a leprosy caught in the marshy encampments in Cisalpine Gaul. To refresh his troops he led them into the fertile plains of Picenum, had the Numidian horses washed with old wine,⁴ took care of his wounded, and gorged

¹ Livy says ten thousand, but Polybius's narrative creates the belief that the army was annihilated.

² Ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Κέλται. (Polyb., iii. 85.)

³ The inhabitants of Spoleto have preserved this glorious souvenir in an inscription cut on one of their gates, of which we give a picture on p. 599, taken from an engraving in the National Library, but which is modern.

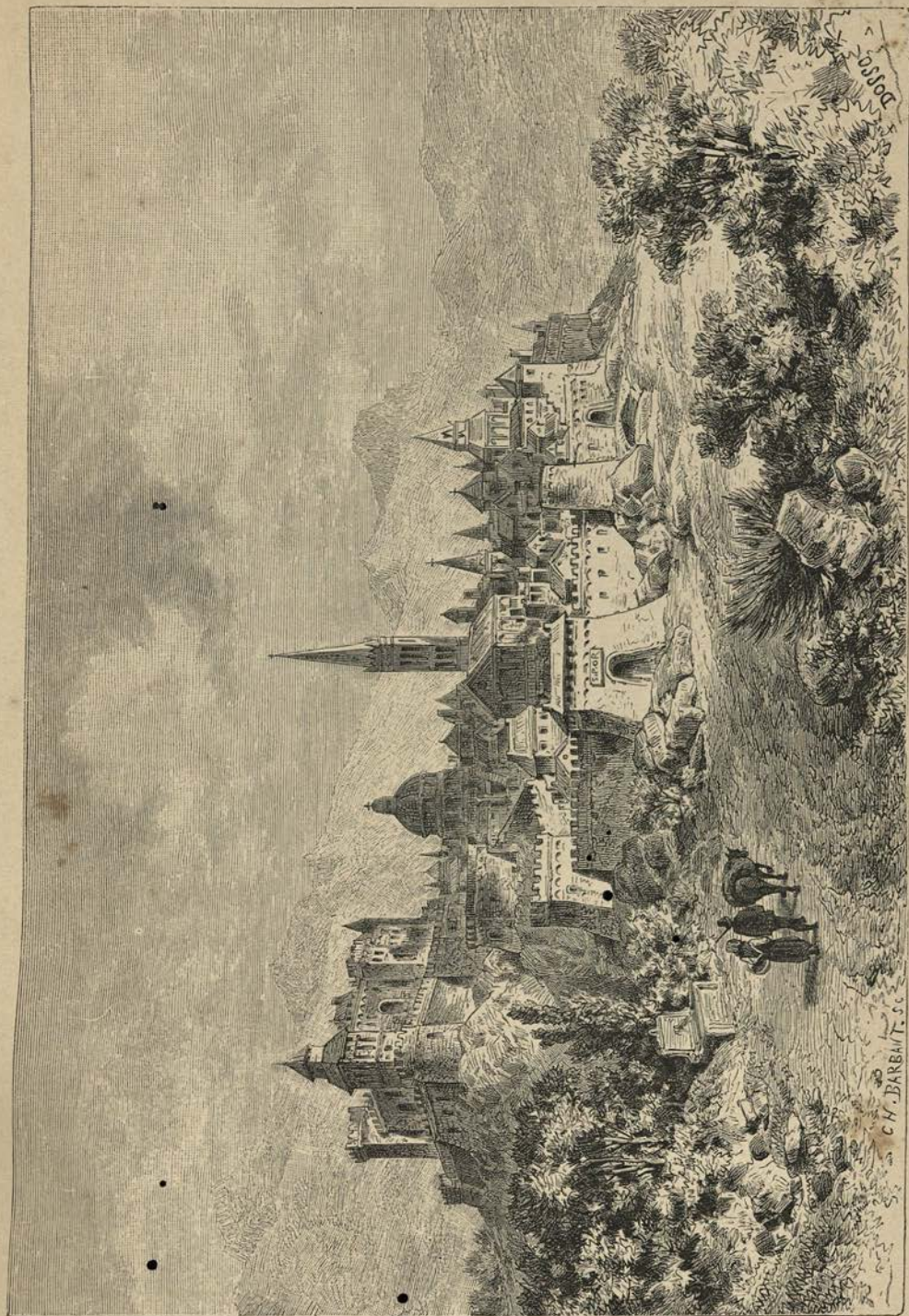
⁴ Ἐκλούων τοῖς παλαιῶς οἶνοις (Polyb., iii. 88). He says elsewhere (ix. 2) that Hannibal owed all his victories to this formidable cavalry, which the Romans never dared to attack on level ground.

his mercenaries with booty. What a singular homage rendered by the conqueror at Thrasimene to the military organisation of the Romans; he armed his Libyan infantry with the short sword and large buckler of the legionaries!¹

At Rome, after the battle at Trebia, the extent of the disaster was kept secret; after that of Thrasimene they did not dare to hide anything. "We have been beaten in a great battle." These words, falling on the multitude like an impetuous wind on the wide sea, spread consternation. For two days the senate deliberated without leaving the senate house, and provided for everything. The bridges over the Tiber were broken, the gates and walls put into a state of defence, projectiles piled up on the ramparts. Not a soldier was recalled from Sicily, Sardinia or Spain; but as in other moments of great public danger, it was resolved to concentrate the whole power in the hands of one chief. The dictator ought lawfully to be nominated by a consul: Flaminius had perished, and it was impossible to communicate with Sempronius. The senate decided that the people should be asked to name a pro-dictator. In this way while breaking the letter they kept the spirit of the law, and as it was the sovereign power itself that made this modification in the custom, the citizens owed obedience to the new magistrate; the gods, their protection. Rome was then full of political good sense. Before the common danger party spirit was wiped out; the people elected as pro-dictator the chief of the nobility, a member of one of the most famous Roman families—Fabius Maximus, and the aristocracy accepted, as Master of the Horse, Minucius, one of the favourites of the multitude. There was need to persuade the people that it had been conquered simply from the impiety of Flaminius; Fabius caused the public prayers and sacrifices to be renewed; they celebrated a *lectisternium* in honour of the twelve gods;² there was vowed to them a sacred Spring, they were promised games, temples, and a prætor

¹ [He probably had no other means of replacing those broken or worn out in Italy.—*Ed.*]

² The following is the arrangement of the guests at this divine feast: *Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti et Veneri quartum Apollini ac Dianæ, quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum Mercurio ac Ceræ* (Livy, xxii. 10). After the example of Roman women, *feminae cum viris cubantibus sedentes cœnitabant* the goddesses being seated in *sellas*, the gods reclining in *lectulum*. (Val. Max., II. i. 2.) See pp. 112 and 285.



View of Spoleto. (See p. 597.)

was charged with an exclusive oversight of these numerous expiations.



Bas-relief of the Altar of the Twelve Gods.¹

¹ We have brought together in one plate the three sides of the monument, in which are represented: in the upper register, the twelve months, symbolized by twelve divinities (Nos. 1, 3, 4); in the lower, the Graces, who give the pleasures of life (No. 2); the Seasons, who promise abundance (No. 5); the Eumenides, who assure the execution of the decrees of divine justice (No. 6). The woodcut on p. 602 gives one of these sides. The numbers 1 and 2 are there explained. In No. 3 are seen: Apollo, whom one would take from his costume for a goddess; Diana, with her bow; Vulcan holding his pliers, but having nothing of the character which tradition assigns him; Minerva, armed with a lance; in No. 4, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Vesta;

For the "sacred Spring," which the Sibylline books had demanded, the Pontifex Maximus ordered that the following question should be put to the people: "If five years from now the Roman people of the Quirites come prosperously out of this war, are you willing, do you order that there be made to Jupiter an offering of all that the spring shall have produced—of pigs, sheep, goats and oxen, to commence from a day fixed by the senate and people." The proposition having been accepted, every citizen felt



Altar of the Twelve Gods.¹

himself legally bound to fulfil this vow at the appointed time. Yet the chief priest took care to enumerate the cases in which the sacrifice would not be "legitimate," in order that the Roman people might not be responsible for any irregularities towards the gods, and that the latter should be obliged to keep the agreement which the priests had just concluded in their name. For them, homage, honour; for Rome, victory; and they would have willingly said to their gods as the Arragonese did to their kings: "If not, no."

We are surprised that Hannibal after Thrasimene did not attempt to crush the other consular army. On the banks of the Po he had not taken the fortresses by which Rome guarded

in No. 5 are the three seasons, Spring, Summer, and Autumn, recognisable by the flowering branch, by the vine stock, and the ear of corn which they are carrying; in No. 6 the Eumenides have the sceptre surmounted by the pomegranate flower, the symbol of their power, and the left hand open to signify that they are always ready to obey Destiny. M. Fröhner (*Notice de la Sculpture antique du musée national du Louvre*) regards this tripod base as a rural calendar. In any case these bas-reliefs form a little mythological poem.

¹ Large triangular base of a tripod, called the Altar of the Twelve Gods, in the Louvre Museum. Above, Jupiter armed with the thunderbolt and the head turned towards Juno; on the left of Juno, Neptune or the ocean, and Ceres or the earth below, the three Graces. See the other faces on last page.

Cisalpine Gaul. Satisfied with crushing whatever attempted to stop his march forwards, he showed no concern for what he left in his rear. The reason is that he was in haste to reach South Italy, in the midst of peoples whom he thought disposed to join him, near Sicily which he hoped to urge into revolt, not far from Greece, Spain and Africa with which he wished to secure easy and sure communications. Whilst he was reaching the Adriatic from whence he despatched a vessel to Carthage, which conveyed the first news thither of his astounding successes, Sempronius crossed the Apennines and descended into the Tiber valley as far as Oriculum, where he effected a junction with the dictator's army.

Fabius, at the head of four legions, went in search of Hannibal, who had followed the Adriatic coast into Apulia in the hope of raising revolt in Magna Grecia as he had done in Cisalpine Gaul. On his march he had committed frightful ravages without detaching a single ally from Rome; for at the head of his numerous Cisalpine auxiliaries he seemed to be really at the head of one of those Gallic invasions so feared by the Italians. The savage aspect of his Africans frightened the inhabitants. He was accused of feeding his soldiers on human flesh,¹ and he was regarded as making a sacrilegious war² against the gods of Italy. Except Tarentum, too humiliated not to desire the abasement of Rome, all the Greeks offered up vows for the defeat of the Carthaginians, their old enemies. Those of Naples and Pæstum sent gold from their temples to the senate, who accepted only a very small part, in order that the public treasure might seem to have inexhaustible resources, and that this confidence might increase the fidelity of their allies. Hiero, sure of Rome's good fortune, even after Thrasimene, offered a gold statue of Victory of 320 lbs. weight, a thousand archers or slingers, three hundred thousand bushels of

¹ See the picture that Varro paints of this "ferocious and savage army, which makes bridges and ditches with heaps of dead bodies, and feeds on human flesh." But it is Livy (xxiii. 5) who thus speaks. We should therefore, believe that he gives us words for facts if Polybius had not said that one of Hannibal's generals had advised him to habituate his soldiers to this kind of food [which does not make it the least more credible]. We know, besides, with what cruelty the Africans make war. Cf. Horace, *Carm.*, III. vi. 36, *Annibalemque dirum*, and *Epod.*, xvi. 8. [The story is worth citing to show what credulity may be attributed to the historians of the period.—*Ed.*]

² *Vastata Penorum tumultu fana* (Hor., *Carm.*, IV. iv. 47). Cf. Livy, xxviii. 46; Cicero, *de Divin.*, i. 24; Polyb., iii. 33.

corn, two hundred thousand bushels of barley, and promised to send victuals in abundance wherever the armies should have need of them. Fabius had struck out a new plan of campaign: to cause all, both men and provisions, to be housed in the fortified



Victory.²

places, to lay waste the level country, and refuse everywhere to fight, but follow the enemy, step by step, fall upon his foragers, cut off his provisions, harass him ceaselessly, destroy him in detail. Hannibal, without place of retreat, without allies, money, sure convoys, and with mercenaries who, seeking in war only for pleasure and the booty of the day after victory, are always ready to cry out, "Discharge or battle,"¹ could not for long stand against these prudent tactics of the Cunctator. Vainly Hannibal ravaged under his eyes

Daunia, Samnium, and Campania; Fabius followed him by the mountains, hidden in the clouds and mists, insensible as well to the insults of the enemy as to the raillery of his soldiers.³ One day, however, Hannibal, deceived by his guides, became involved

¹ Like the Swiss mercenaries in the Italian wars of Louis XII. and of Francis I.

² Statue in the Museum of the Louvre, called the Victory of Brescia.

³ Cic., *de Senect.*, iv. 17 (the expression is from Ennius): *Non ponebat enim rumores ante*

near Casilinum, at the bottom of a valley, closed by impracticable marshes. Fabius seized the heights, fell on the rear-guard of the Carthaginians, who lost eight hundred men, and held the only entrance with a numerous body of men. Hannibal was caught. In the midst of the night he drove towards the heights two thousand oxen, bearing on their horns burning faggots; and the guard of the defile, thinking that the enemy was fleeing in that direction, left their post, which Hannibal immediately took possession of; this peril was past, but, with the vigilance of the Temporiser, it might be renewed. Fortunately for Hannibal, the Romans were indignant at what they called a shameful timidity, and, as the Carthaginians intentionally spared the lands of Fabius, there were suggestions of treason.

In vain did he put his estate up for sale to ransom prisoners; the people, carried away by a slight success which the cavalry general gained in his absence, gave Minucius an authority equal to that of the pro-dictator. Fabius divided the army with him, and Minucius being too weak, was beaten at the first encounter near Larinum. He would have perished had not Fabius descended from the heights to save him. "At last the cloud which covered the mountain has burst, then," said Hannibal, "and produced rain and storm."² Minucius came of his own.



Coin of Larinum.¹

accord to place himself again under the orders of his old leader, and when the dictator quitted office at the end of six months, the affairs of the republic appeared to be in a prosperous condition. At Rome one of his nephews dedicated a temple to a new divinity, Intelligence (*mens*), and Ennius consecrated his memory by the famous verse which Virgil borrowed from him, "The one man by delaying has recovered our affairs."³

salutem. Clisson said also to Charles V. when, from the top of the towers of the Louvre, he gazed at the ravages of the English: "All these conflagrations will not cause you to lose your heritage."

¹ On the obverse, veiled head of Juno; on the reverse, LARINON, V. and a dolphin. The two oo's are the mark of the sextans. Small bronze coin of Larinum.

² *Nubem . . . cum procella imbrem dedisse.* (Livy, xxii. 30.)

³ But Virgil does not repeat the second verse (quoted on last page), which he should also have transcribed: "He did not sacrifice the public safety to vain rumours." This verse is more important than the other, for it marks one of the most necessary qualities in a leader.

For a moment a coalition of the whole West had been dreaded. But in Spain a number of tribes passed over to the side of the Romans; in Gallia Cisalpina the Gauls, satisfied at finding themselves free again, forgot Hannibal and Carthage itself, which only sent a few vessels to commit piracies on their coast, whence the fleets of Sicily and Ostia quickly drove them away. A Roman squadron which was returning from pursuing them as far as Africa had taken the island Cossura (Pantellaria), and levied on Cereina a heavy war contribution. Everywhere, except in front of Hannibal, the Romans assumed the offensive and took bold measures. • Otacilius, the prætor of Sicily, had orders to pass over into Africa; the Scipios received succours; Postunius Albinus with an army kept watch over the Cisalpine Gauls, and ambassadors had been sent to Philip of Macedon to require the extradition of Demetrius of Pharos, who was urging him to war; to Pineus, king of Illyria, to claim the tribute which he delayed paying, and to the Ligurians, to demand an account of the help furnished by them to the Carthaginians.¹ There is something grand in this activity of the senate, paying attention to the most distant countries in the midst of a formidable war carried on at the very gates of the city, and never permitting the fortune or the power of Rome to be doubted for an instant. This senate, which was so proud towards the foreigner, showed a conciliating temper with the people; it reminded all of the necessity of mutual confidence by raising a new temple to Concord, and placed it within the bounds of the citadel² in order that everyone should understand that the strength of Rome depended on the spirit inspired by this divinity.

The consuls who commanded the army in the last months of 217, after the abdication of Fabius, followed the dictator's tactics, and this wise delay would doubtless have ruined Hannibal. But could the rulers of Italy, under the eyes of their allies and with superior forces, always decline battle? Sempronius and Varro are condemned after the event. The remembrance of Trebia and Cannæ weigh upon their memory. Yet the people, the army,

¹ Livy, xxii. 33.

² *In arce.* (Livy, xxii. 33.)

and perhaps the true policy¹ demanded a battle. The senate itself decided upon it; but there was needed an able and experienced leader, and though the nobility managed to obtain the election of Paulus Æmilius, a pupil of Fabius, who had already distinguished himself in the Illyrian wars, the popular party gave him as colleague its leader, Terentius Varro, the son of a butcher, who had never seen a battle.² Union was necessary between the



Ruins of Cannæ.³

leaders, and Paulus Æmilius and Varro, who were political enemies,⁴ continued their quarrels in the army, the one always wishing to fight, the other to delay. As the command alternated every day

¹ Before Cannæ the leaders of the army write to the senate: *τῶν συμμάχων πάντων μετέωρων ὄντων ταῖς διαβολαῖς*. (Polyb., iii. 107.)

² [Nevertheless, Livy tells us his father had made money, and the consul had reached his consulate through the regular promotion, having been quæstor, ædile, and prætor, without displaying any incompetence.—*Ed.*]

³ The arch, of which the remains are seen, is wrongly called the Arch of Varro.

⁴ I pass over in silence the declamations of Varro and Herennius on the treason of the nobles, who were anxious to spin out the war. At this period the reproach is absurd: twenty years later it is true.

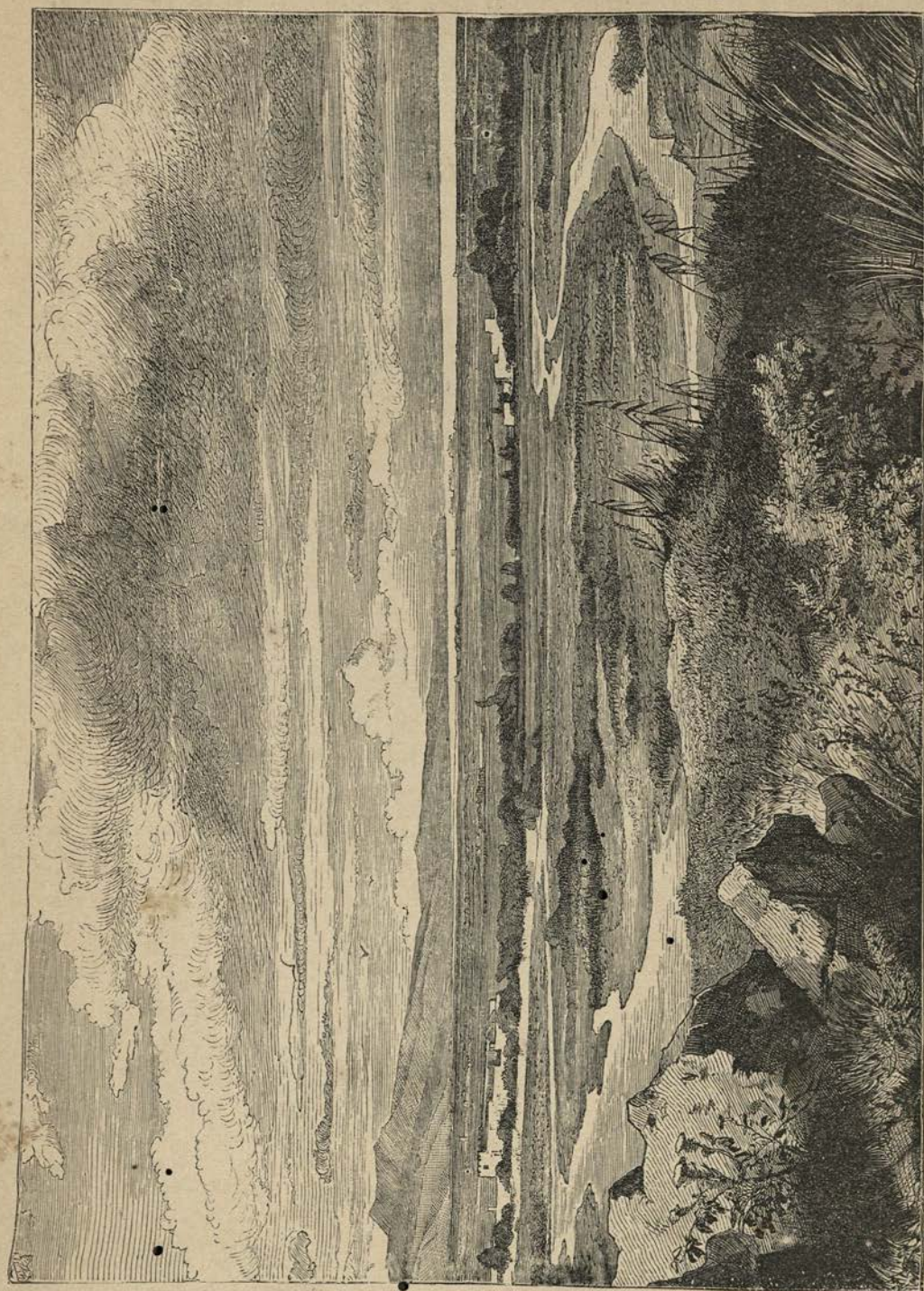
between the two consuls, Varro led the army so near the enemy that retreat was impossible, and on the next day but one in the morning he had the purple mantle, the signal for the fight, displayed before his tent. He had eighty thousand infantry,¹ and, notwithstanding the remembrance of the three battles already lost, only six thousand horse. In an army of fifty thousand men, Hannibal had ten thousand.² His forces were only half those of the consuls; but he had led them to a battle-field of his own choosing, at Cannæ in Apulia, near the Aufidus, in the middle of an immense plain which was favourable to his cavalry, and in a position where the sun, shining in the faces of the Romans,³ and the wind, carrying the dust against their line, fought for him.

In this level plain an ambuscade appeared impossible. But five hundred Numidians presented themselves as deserters, and during the action they fell upon the rear of the Roman army. At Cannæ, as at Thrasimene and at Trebia, the smaller number surrounded the greater. In order to offer more resistance to the cavalry, Varro had diminished the extent of his line and increased its depth. By this arrangement many soldiers became useless. Hannibal, on the contrary, gave his army a front equal to that of the enemy, and drew it up in a crescent, so that the centre, composed of Gauls, projected from his line of battle. Behind them the African veterans were drawn up along the curve, the two extremities of which extended to the cavalry on the two wings. Whilst the Romans attacked the Gauls with fury, and the latter, led by Hannibal himself, receded little by little upon the second line, Hasdrubal, with his African and Spanish horsemen drawn up in deep masses, crushed the legionary cavalry on the Punic left, and Mago with his Numidians occupied that of the allies

¹ Ten thousand were left in the two consular camps.

² Livy purposely exaggerates the critical position of Hannibal before the battle. He had, says he, only ten days' provisions. The Spaniards, threatened with famine, were ready to betray him, and Hannibal was already thinking how to reach Gaul. There is nothing of all this in Polybius (iii. 107), who speaks of him as making immense magazines at Geronium, of which he had gained possession, and as having taken, a few days before the battle, the castle of Cannæ, in which the Romans had their supplies of provisions, arms, and engines. It was the capture of Cannæ, indeed, which decided the senate to allow a battle. Moreover, with his cavalry Hannibal would always have found provisions.

³ The Romans were turned towards the south [really south-east.—*Ed.*] (Livy and Polybius.)



Battlefield of Camme.

on the right. Leaving the Numidians to pursue and slay those who had not fallen at the first shock, Hasdrubal attacked in the rear the Roman infantry, which the Africans, by the backward movement of the Gauls, had already taken in flank. The eighty thousand Romans, shut in on all sides, soon formed only a confused mass, on which every blow told, and which could give few in return.¹ By the account of Polybius, seventy-two thousand Romans and allies, with one of the consuls, Paulus Æmilius, who had refused to fly, two quæstors, eighty senators, some ex-consuls, among them Minucius, and one of the consuls of the preceding year, twenty-one legionary tribunes, and finally a whole crowd of knights were left on the field of battle (August 2nd, 216). The Roman nobility liberally paid their debt of blood to their country. Hannibal had not lost six thousand men, of whom four thousand were Gauls. This nation was the instrument of all his victories.² A prediction of this great defeat was afterwards attributed to a famous diviner Marcius, who lived before the second Punic war. "Roman, son of Troy, avoid the river Cannæ; beware lest strangers force thee to join battle in the field of Diomedæ. But thou wilt not believe me till thou hast filled the country with thy blood; till thy citizens have fallen by thousands and the river bearing them far from the fruitful land, has given them up for food for the fowls of the air, for the wild beasts on its banks and the fishes of the vast sea. Thus has Jupiter spoken to me."

This prophecy, more precise than those which precede the event, satisfied the national pride, and at the same time served the policy of the senate, whose interest it was that men should believe in oracles. Rome was willing to see in her defeat not a failing in courage, but a decree of destiny; she attributed the victory to the gods much more than to Hannibal, and she

¹ These are the figures given by Polybius. Livy only says 48,200 dead, and 24,900 prisoners. He raises to 8,000 the number of Hannibal's dead, which Polybius reduces to 5,700. [This victory, like most others won in a fair field against superior numbers, was won by making the enemy "jam" himself—a fatal mistake. As soon as troops, however good, get so crowded as to have no room for their evolutions, they become a mere helpless mass. To make an enemy far superior in numbers thus paralyse his forces is the art of a consummate tactician.—*Ed.*]

² [Though the Gauls often bore the brunt of the battles, and incurred most loss, there is no doubt that the Spanish infantry and the African veterans were the flower of the army.—*Ed.*]

strengthened a precious instrument of government, faith in divination, by leading men to think that the diviner had foreseen the future.

The battle of Cannæ deprived the Romans of more strength than it gave Hannibal. Some tribes of Campania and Magna-Grecia declared for him, but on condition of according him fewer men and smaller subsidies than they had furnished to Rome;¹ and Carthage, which looked upon this bold expedition only as a useful diversion, left him to his own resources.² Enfeebled even by his victories, he would be obliged to divide his forces if he would protect the towns which had just yielded themselves to him. He would thus have an army too weak to renew the strife of Thrasimene and Cannæ. Moreover, the consuls, rendered prudent by experience, would place the safety of the republic in following Fabius' system. Strange to say, war on a large scale is ended in Italy after the battle of Cannæ. Henceforth there is nothing but sieges of towns, stratagems, many attacks and combats without results. In this war of strategy Hannibal shows himself the ablest leader of ancient times. But the contest has no longer more than a secondary interest except for the grandeur of the spectacle presented by this man, abandoned by all his people, in the midst of a hostile country, face to face with the bravest and best organised nation then in existence, and who yet for thirteen years could master the want of discipline of his mercenaries, uphold the tottering faith of his allies, employ alone the best troops of Rome, and in addition to this stir up the world with his negotiations, rouse Syracuse, Sicily, and Sardinia to revolt, and call his brothers from Spain, and Philip from Macedonia to the heart of Italy, where he awaited them to overwhelm Rome with the weight of Africa and Europe united against her.³

¹ . . . *neve civis Campanus invitus militaret, munusve faceret* (Treaty of Capua with Hannibal, Livy, xxiii. 7). . . . *μήτε φόρους πράξισθαι κατὰ μῦθον, μήτε ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιτάξειν Ταραντιοὺς Καρχηδονίους.* (Treaty of Hannibal with Tarentum, Polybius, viii. 29.)

² He received only ten thousand men from it during the whole war.

³ If I were asked, says Polybius, who was the soul of this war, I should say Hannibal (ix. fr. 7). Here we unfortunately lose this conscientious historian. After the battle of Cannæ there only remain fragments of him.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

FROM THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ TO THAT OF THE METAURUS (216—207).

I.—MEASURES TAKEN AT ROME AFTER CANNÆ; DEFECTION OF CAPUA.

“Let me go forward with my cavalry,” said one of his officers to Hannibal the evening after the battle, “and in five days you shall sup in the Capitol.” But never did an army of mercenaries sacrifice to its leader, however beloved, the day after a victory. To obtain much from such soldiers, much must be allowed them. Hannibal gave them time to gather up the spoils, to strip the dead, to sell their prisoners, and to celebrate, in prolonged orgies, their recent triumph. He knew moreover, that between him and Rome there was a distance of eighty-eight leagues, there were rivers, mountains, fortified towns, a fertile country; last of all, an immense city defended by high walls, and a moat thirty feet deep and a hundred broad;¹ and behind them a whole people in arms.

At Rome distress produced reaction; when the first moment of stupor was past, the city rang with sounds of preparation. Fabius, who was listened to as an oracle, directed that the women should remain at home, lest by their lamentations in the temples they might weaken the courage of the inhabitants; that all able-bodied men should be armed; that bands of cavalry should patrol the roads; that the senators should go about the city keeping

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The wall on the inner side rested against an embankment fifty feet wide. See page 35—36.

order, setting guards at the gates, and preventing the departure of anybody from the city. In order to have done with the signs of grief as soon as possible, the time of mourning for the slain was limited to thirty days: the city seemed another Sparta. Nor were the gods neglected. Certain senators particularly versed in such matters undertook the duty of restoring confidence by satisfying popular superstitions. An embassy under the charge of Fabius Pictor set off for Delphi to consult the Pythia. The god of light and poetry doubtless gave only patriotic counsels; but the Roman divinities were more gloomy; among the religious expiations required some were cruel; two vestals, accused of adultery, were interred alive in the field of crime, *campus sceleratus*; two Gauls and two Greeks suffered the same fate.¹ The chaste and implacable Vesta, with her honour thus avenged, would now return to her faithful people, and it was believed that the infernal gods, appeased by these abominable sacrifices, would no longer demand the hetacombs of war.

But the disastrous year was not yet ended. A few days later, news came that a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the States of Hiero, that another lay in wait at the Ægatian islands to fall upon Lilybæum as soon as the prætor had gone; finally, that Postumius Albinus, drawn with his army into an ambushade by the Cisalpine Gauls, had perished there, and that his



Coin of Teanum.²

skull, set in gold, now served the Boian priests as a cup whence they poured libations in their sacrifices.³ But after the great disaster of Cannæ these new misfortunes seemed trivial. Men's hearts moreover, were regaining courage. Two legions were already in the city, and to them Marcellus added fifteen hundred more soldiers from the fleet at Ostia; also, with an activity and clear-sightedness which announced the successful adversary of Hannibal, he posted a whole legion at Teanum Sidicinum, to bar the road into Latium. Since

¹ Livy, xxii. 57. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxx. 12) places in the year 97 a *senatus-consultum*, abolishing human sacrifices: . . . *ne homo immolaretur*.

² On the obverse, TIANVR, in Oscan. Head of Mercury and a star. On the reverse, SIKIKIN, in Oscan. Bull with human face and a star. Bronze coin of Teanum Sidicinum.

³ Polybius, iii. 106, 118.

the war began, more than a hundred thousand Romans and allies had perished; these two campaigns had then reduced by one seventh the military strength of Rome.¹ M. Junius Pera, however, being created dictator by the senate, raised four legions, and a thousand horse, together with eight thousand slaves bought from their owners, and called for the contingents of the allies. Arms were lacking, and he despoiled the temples and porticos of the trophies accumulated there during two centuries. Finally, when Carthalo came with deputies from the prisoners of Cannæ to speak of peace and ransom, a licitor was sent at once to bid him depart from the Roman territory. About ten thousand soldiers were in the power of Hannibal; these the senate refused to ransom; others² had taken refuge at Venusia and at Canusium; it decreed that they should go into Sicily, there to serve without pay or military honours, until Hannibal should have been driven out of Italy.³

This patriotic heroism verged on cruelty. Rome regarded as criminals her soldiers taken captive by the enemy; she consigned to the slave-markets of African cities, she gave over to all the miseries and all the disgrace of slavery, these sons, these brothers of senators, who fighting at Cannæ had already risked their lives for her. But it is with these extreme severities that nations are saved; on the day when Rome took this grievous resolution, she found therein the superhuman strength which must presently give her the victory.

These men, stern though they were, showed at the same time an admirable spirit of conciliation. Disregarding their causes of complaint against Varro, the faults of this popular consul, and his flight from the field of battle, the senate went out in a body to meet him, with all the people, as he drew near Rome, and thanked him publicly that he had not despaired of the republic.⁴ This

¹ See above the total of the Roman forces in 225.

² About three thousand, according to Polybius; according to Livy, eight thousand. The reader will doubtless remember the improbable story that the fugitives after Cannæ proposed to seek an asylum with foreign kings, and that Scipio defeated this scheme by threatening death to the first man who should speak of flight. Polybius makes no mention of this report, although he narrates minutely the youth of Scipio. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal again had sent home the Italian prisoners without ransom.

³ Livy, xxii. 61.

⁴ He still remained in command of the army of Apulia, and later on the legions of Picenum.

magnanimity should be remembered to the credit of the Roman senate, when we recollect how cruel and how suspicious democracies are wont to be in times of peril. The manner in which this body was composed goes far towards explaining their moderation. To fill the gaps made in it by the war, a new dictator, Fabius Buteo, was appointed, who prepared a list consisting of, first, former senators; then, of those who had held curule magistracies since 221, who had been tribunes, ædiles, and quæstors; and finally, who had obtained civic crowns, or had brought home trophies from the enemy: making in all a hundred and seventy-seven new members.

But the proposition made by Spurius Carvilius that each one of the Latin cities should be allowed to send two of the new senators, was rejected with indignation. This refusal was a mistake, first, because the Latins merited the confidence of Rome, and secondly, because if the senate had adopted the resolution, and had granted to all the Italian cities, one after another, the right to designate their two senators, that assembly would have become the true representative body of Italy, and would have been able to save the republic and render the empire unnecessary. Up to the time of Augustus, the Romans, with all the imperious egotism of a city turning the whole world to its profit, had nothing more than a municipal constitution. By accepting the proposition of Carvilius, they would have given themselves a national constitution, in which the subjugated would have found a place beside those who had conquered them, and in this way would have restrained the power of rapacious oligarchy whom its excesses finally destroyed. Rome soon expiated this fault, when, in 209, twelve Latin colonies refused joint action with her.

Meanwhile, in the south of Italy the fidelity of some States had given way before so many disasters. Rome having no longer an army to defend them, they went over to the enemy; these

were entrusted to him. In 203 he was one of the three ambassadors sent to Philip; three years later he went in the same character to Africa; after this, as triumvir, led a colony to Venusia. These high trusts and this long continued favour prove that the man defeated at Cannæ was not the low demagogue that Livy describes. Frontinus (*Strategematicon*, iv. 5 and 6) is favourable to him, Polybius, however (iii. 116), treats him with great severity.

were the Bruttians, Lucanians, some of the Apulians, the Caudini, the Hirpini, and, in Campania, the cities Atella, Calatia and Capua.¹

Capua was six or seven miles in circumference. Its strong walls had seven gates, opening upon seven great streets, of which those named Seplasia and Albana are celebrated. The stately temples of Jupiter, Mars and Fortuna, the forum, the curia, the amphitheatre, with its immense subterranean vaults, which recent researches have brought to light, other edifices of public utility or ornament, and an immense number of bronze statues made Capua, according to Cicero, the rival of Corinth. She wished to be also the rival of Rome; and because she could arm thirty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand cavalry, believed herself, notwithstanding her effeminate manners, fit to give the law to Italy. Many noble Campanians had married into Roman families; but the people preserved their hostility towards Rome, and honours gained there seemed to them a disgrace. After Thrasimene, Hannibal, by means of the captives he sent away without ransom, had laid the train of a defection which exploded upon the news of his victory at Cannæ. He promised to levy in the city neither troops nor taxes, to leave to it an unbroken independence, and, as soon as Rome should have been destroyed, to recognise Capua as the capital of Italy.² To seal this alliance indissolubly, the

¹ It has been the custom largely to exaggerate (after Livy) the defections which followed the battle of Cannæ. He says, indeed: *defecere Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentrios, Bruttii omnes, Lucani; præter hos Surrentini et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique et Cisalpini omnes Galli* (xxii. 61), but the later books compel us to correct this passage. In Apulia we find under the power of Hannibal only Arpi, Salapia, Herdonia, Uxentum; the large towns, Luceria, Venusia, and Canusium, remained to the Romans. By the Samnites we must understand only the Caudini and the Hirpini, in whose territory the Romans preserved Beneventum. The Bruttii were determined to exert themselves only in their own interests. The Greeks of the Gulf of Tarentum, far from betraying Rome, remained faithful to her. Petelia was taken only after a desperate resistance; Crotona, Locri, and Consentia only after a siege, as late as 215; Tarentum not until 212, when the city was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal. Metapontum and Thurium went over to the enemy in 212 and 213 (xxv. 1 and 15), that is to say, when Hannibal had been expelled from Campania and had fallen back into Magna-Grecia. Rhegium, Brundisium, and Calabria remained faithful all through. In regard to the Cisalpines, the battle of Cannæ in no respect changed their position. Livy, forgetting what he had written in chap. xxii., says in chap. xxvi., "The defection of Capua only caused that of a few other states."

² Livy, xxiii. 7—10. *Brevi caput Italie omni Capuam fore* (*ibid.*, 10). Livy adds (xxiii. 6) that according to several writers the Capuans before going over to Hannibal had asked at Rome to share in the consulate

Capuans seized upon all the Romans living in their midst, and smothered them in the public baths. They had good reason to fear that Rome would avenge this upon the three hundred Campanian horse serving in Sicily; and against that danger Hannibal gave the Capuans as hostages an equal number of his prisoners, whom they selected at will from the crowd of captives.

One of the most respected men of Capua, Decius Magius, pointed out, but in vain, to his fellow-citizens that Hannibal would deal with them as Pyrrhus had dealt with the Tarentines, and



Lower Part of the Amphitheatre at Capua.¹

that, notwithstanding all his promises, their liberty was gone for ever. When the Carthaginian garrison arrived, he even tried to have the gates closed against them. Hannibal, rendered uneasy by this conduct on the part of Magius, summoned him to his camp. "Your master," the Capuan replied to the messengers,

The amphitheatre at Capua was one of the largest in Italy; it is well known that Hadrian restored it, but the date of its original construction cannot be fixed.

“has no authority over the senator of a free city;” and he refused to go. Then the Carthaginian announced that he should visit Capua in person. By order of the magistrates all the people in gala attire went forth to meet the hero, whom no man had so far been able to defeat. Magius let the crowd go past, rushing into slavery; he himself remained in his house for a time, then, lest he should be accused of cowardice, walked forth calmly into the market-place, accompanied by his son and some of his clients. Hannibal desired the senate to assemble at once and try Magius;



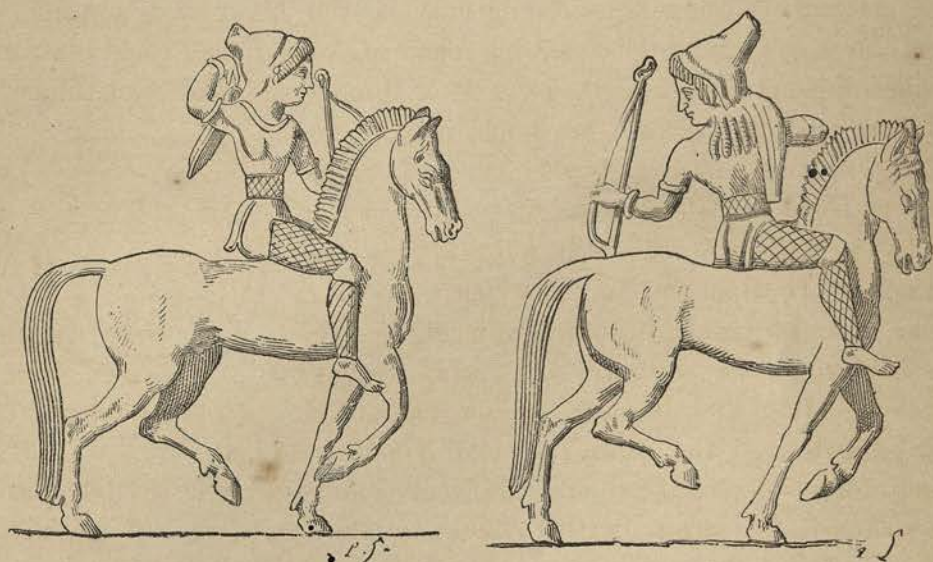
Ruins of the Amphitheatre at Capua.

but the people implored him not to sadden this festal day by an act of severity; and, not to refuse the first request they had made him, he agreed to wait till the morrow. Meantime, he visited the city, famed as the most beautiful in Italy, and went to supper at the house of Pacuvius, the leader of the party favourable to Carthage.

Pacuvius had a son, Perolla, who was in sympathy with Magius. Invited to the feast, he went armed with a dagger, wherewith to reconcile Rome and Capua by murdering the conqueror of Cannæ. But, not daring to strike under his father's eye, he drew the latter aside, and revealed to him his design,

that Pacuvius might withdraw from the scene where Hannibal was about to perish. Pacuvius implored, threatened, and, as magistrate and father, commanded the murderer to renounce his design. "If you persist," he says, it is I against whom your blow will be directed, for I shall protect with my body the man who is now my guest." And the son, conquered by paternal authority, cast away his weapon.

On the following day the senate assembled, and Hannibal demanded that Magius should be delivered up to him. The senators, concealing their cowardice under a semblance of justice,



Campanian Horsemen.¹

directed the magistrate to take his seat and listen to the defence of the accused. Magius, dragged into his presence, refused to answer to the accusation, and protested against so speedy a violation of the treaty. He was loaded with chains; and while a lictor was leading him away to the Carthaginian camp, he cried aloud to the people: "Behold, your much-desired liberty! In the open forum, in full daylight, I, who am second to no man in Capua, am torn from my family and dragged away to death. What worse could you have suffered, had Capua had been taken by assault? Come, therefore, and witness Hannibal's triumph

¹ These two bronzes were found near Capua. (*Inst. Arch.*, Atlas, vol. v. pl. 25.)

over one of your fellow-citizens." The people were much excited by this appeal, and the guard who had charge of Magius covered his head to prevent his speaking. At the camp, however, Hannibal dared not put his prisoner to death, but he despatched him in a vessel to Carthage, where no doubt a cruel fate awaited him, had not a fortunate shipwreck set him free upon the coast of the Cyrenaica. Here Magius took refuge at a statue of King Ptolemy, and the latter, being informed of the whole matter, welcomed to the Egyptian court the bold defender of his country's liberties.

Hannibal being thus established in the heart of Campania, and having a great city as his base of operations, could await reinforcements from Carthage. After Cannæ he had sent Mago thither, and the latter poured out in the presence of the senate a bushel of gold rings, taken from the Roman knights slain on the field of battle. Hanno still kept up his distrust. "If Hannibal is victorious," he said, "he has no need of reinforcements; if he is defeated, he deceives us, and deserves none." But the Barcine faction triumphed. It was decreed that four thousand Numidians and forty elephants should be sent into Italy; a senator was despatched to Spain with money to raise a force of twenty thousand infantry and four thousand horse; and Hasdrubal received orders to cross the Pyrenees. But these measures were slowly or badly carried out,¹ and in a great battle near the unknown city of Ibera, the Scipios destroyed the army of Hasdrubal, who was obliged to retire into the south of Spain (216).

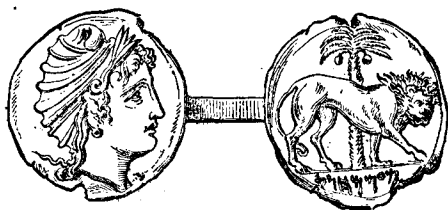


Gold Ring of a Roman Knight.

For his communications with Carthage Hannibal had need of a seaport. He attempted to seize Naples, but the Greeks of Campania were devoted to Rome, and Naples resisted. He failed also before Cumæ and before Nola, where the nobles had called to their aid Marcellus; the latter, in a sortie, killed more than two thousand Africans, and this unhoped-for success was celebrated.

¹ *Segniter otioseque gesta.* (Liv. xxiii. 14.)

as a great victory, but it did not prevent Hannibal from destroying Nuceria and Acerræ and closely blockading Casilinum. The siege of this little place, traversed by the Volturnus, is interesting in more than one aspect. The garrison was composed of only two cohorts, one from Perugia, the other from Præneste, and a few Latins, who, on the news of Varro's disaster, had thrown themselves into the city. They defended it bravely, as well against Hannibal's offers as against his attacks, and we may conclude that, in this part of the peninsula, the Carthaginians were regarded as the mortal enemies of Italy. The garrison of Casilinum, indeed, cut themselves off from all hope of safety in case the city should be taken by storm. Suspecting the inhabitants of being favourable to Hannibal, they fell upon them and murdered them all



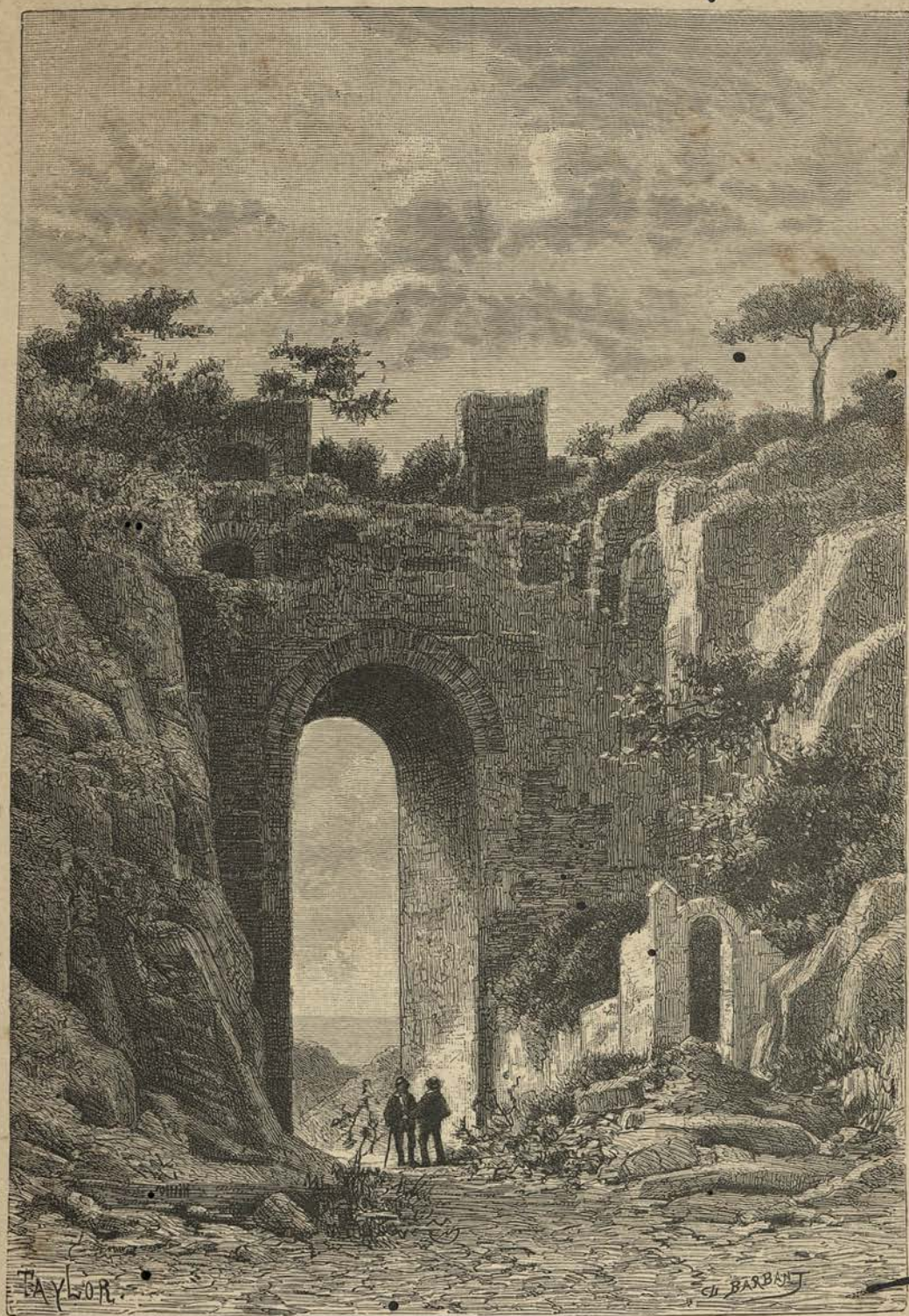
Coin Struck for the Pay of the Carthaginian Mercenaries.¹

in their houses. Although this massacre reduced the number of mouths to feed, want soon began to make itself felt in the place. They were reduced to eat unclean animals and even the leather of their bucklers. The Romans, encamped in the neighbourhood,

did indeed send during the night a few casks filled with grain, which the current of the river floated down into the town; also they threw nuts into the Volturnus, which the besieged caught by screens. But the abundant rains having caused an overflow of the banks, this stratagem was discovered and the river watched. At last the garrison was forced to surrender, and Hannibal made terms with them. The leader of the Prænestines had been a scribe. Justly proud of the defence of Casilinum, he caused his own statue to be set up in the forum of Præneste, covered with a cuirass and clad in a toga, with this inscription, which Livy mentions that he had read, "The vow of M. Amicius for the soldiers who defended Casilinum."² A decree of the senate gave to the survivors of the siege double pay, with exemption for five years from military duty. But when the right of Roman citizenship

¹ This piece, of Greek workmanship (*moneta castrensis*), bears a Punic legend signifying "of the people of the camp." (Note by M. de Sauley.)

² Livy, xxiii. 17—20.



Gate of Cumæ. (See p. 621.)

was offered them, they declined, preferring to remain Prænestines. Love of their native city and generous devotion to the city of their adoption were the sentiments which prompted so many great deeds among the Italians of that epoch.

II.—SIEGE OF CAPUA; PATRIOTISM AND CONSTANCY OF THE ROMANS.

At the close of the year 216 the following was the position of the two parties: Junius Pera, posted at Teanum with twenty-five thousand soldiers, covered the line of the Liris and protected Latium; Marcellus at Nola defended the cities of southern Campania; between them Hannibal was encamped at Capua, whence he continued the blockade of Casilinum, which detained him six months; meanwhile, one of his lieutenants, Himilco, stirred up insurrection in Bruttium, where he stormed Petelia and Consentia. The defection of Locri furnished Hannibal with an excellent harbour, and that of Crotona, whence the nobles had been driven out, gave him an important city. In all this region one single town remained in alliance with the Romans—Rhegium, but this was the most important to them of all, for it was the key of the straits. Varro held Apulia with an army which rested upon the great stronghold of Luceria. Etruria, Umbria, and almost all central



Vase of Nola.¹

¹ Vase with two handles, made at Nola. The vase presents two subjects, one of which
DDD

Italy remained faithful, and the Cisalpine people, despite their recent victory, made no hostile demonstrations; the senate put off till a more propitious moment the vengeance it owed them, and directed all its strength against Hannibal, under command of



Venus of Capua.²

Fabius, the best of the Roman generals, now consul for the third time. The first act of the Cunctator showed him faithful to his old policy; he ordered that all the grain throughout Campania should be brought in to the fortified cities before the *kalends* of June, under penalty, to him who should fail, of seeing his fields ravaged, his slaves sold, and his farm house burned.¹

In the spring of 215 Fabius took command of the legions at Teanum. Sempronius Gracchus, with twenty-five thousand troops of the allies and all the slaves who had been enrolled, took up a position at Sinuessa, his left resting upon the extreme right of Fabius. When he had ascertained that the marshes formed by the Vulturnus at its mouth were on that side a sure protection, he established himself at Liternum, near Cumæ, that he

might thus defend all the ports of the Bay of Naples, and make sure that no succours should arrive by sea. Marcellus remained in front of Nola, threatening Capua from the south, as Fabius and

only is represented here: first, Neptune standing, trident in one hand, a fish in the other; second, Amymone, also standing, turning her head towards Neptune, who comes to save her from the pursuit of a satyr. Red on a black ground. French National Museum, No. 3329.

¹ Livy, xxiii. 32.

² This superb statue, found at Capua, is now in the Museum at Naples. Its attitude recalls

Sempronius threatened it from the north and west. The garrison at Beneventum on the east completed the investment of the Campanian territory, and was in communication with the garrison at Luceria, composed of the legion of Apulia. Varro was employed in organising a fifth army in Picenum. Pomponius had another in Gaul. The *débris* of Cannæ, with some other troops, defended Sicily, and three fleets guarded respectively the coasts of this island, Calabria, and Latium. Including the forces under the Scipios and the prætor of Sardinia, the senate had now nine armies and four fleets, or about two hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom ninety thousand were to besiege Capua and Hannibal.

The African general found in his Italian allies little eagerness to range themselves under his banner, and the successful operations of the Scipios, together with the bad policy of the Carthaginian senate, which sent to Spain and to Sardinia, a strong re-inforcement, prepared by Mago for his brother, left the latter alone against Rome. But during that winter passed at Capua, and so fatal to his troops, according to Livy,¹ secret emissaries were sent out from his camp, and suddenly it was known at Rome that Sardinia threatened revolt, and that in Sicily Gelon, notwithstanding his aged father, was seeking to bring Syracuse into alliance with Carthage; that finally, Philip of Macedon had recently concluded an agreement with Hannibal to the effect that he would cross over to the Italian coast with two hundred vessels.² Fortunately Gelon suddenly died; the prætor Manlius destroyed or took prisoners all the Carthaginian army in

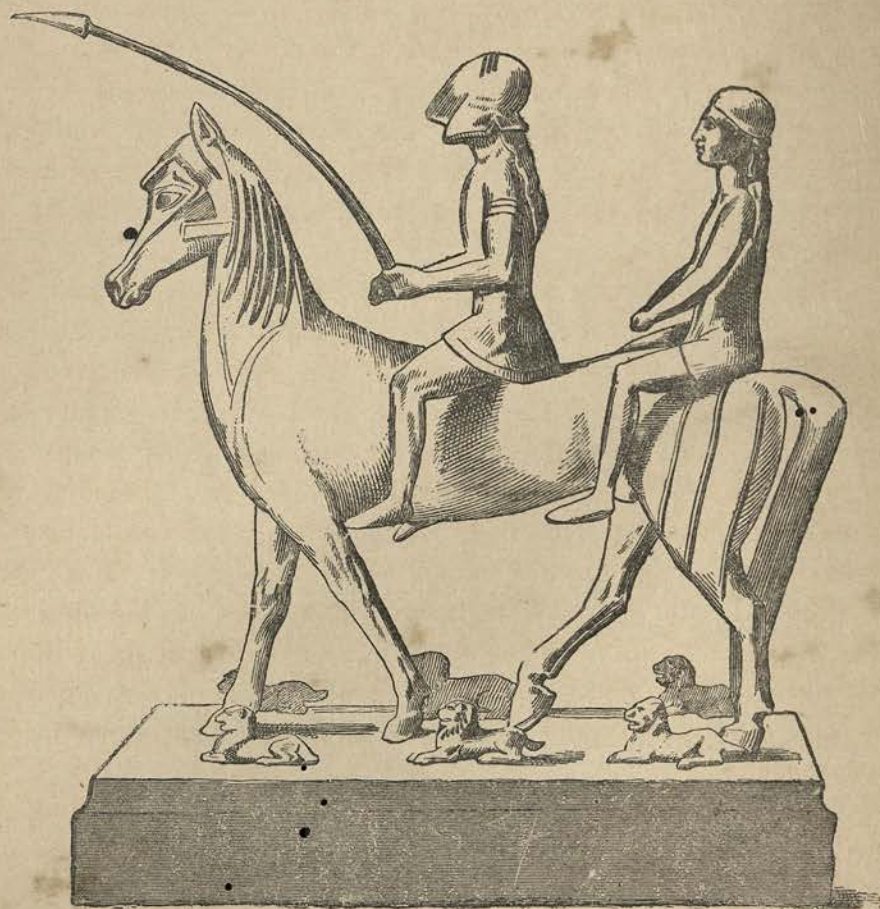
that of the Venus of Melos, and has given rise to the theory that she is admiring herself in the buckler of Mars.

¹ Montesquieu destroys with a word the lengthy argument of Livy: "Would not Hannibal's soldiers, becoming rich by so many victories, have found Capua everywhere?"

² This treaty is reported by Polybius and by Livy in very different terms; according to the former it was rather a defensive alliance, according to the latter an offensive alliance. But the text in Polybius states at the end: Ἐάν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν ἀφελεῖν ἢ προσθεῖναι πρὸς τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον, ἀφελοῦμεν, and above, Βοηθήσετε δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς ἂν χρεια ᾖ καὶ ὡς ἂν συμφωνήσωμεν (vii. 9). The text of Livy specifying the nature of the assistance promised by Philip gives possibly this addition. The text of Polybius being an isolated fragment we are not justified in saying that according to this writer there were no other agreements between Philip and Hannibal. By this treaty all the booty was to belong to Hannibal, Rome and Italy to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. If the name of Carthage is there it is evidently only for form's sake. In regard to Philip, the Carthaginians were afterwards to aid him against all his enemies, and the

Sardinia, and Philip was so slow with his preparations that the senate had time to forestall him in Greece.

To expand and break through this circle of iron which was closing in about him, Hannibal was constrained to make a war of



Warrior Mounted, with a Man on the Crupper Behind Him.¹

sieges, and by so doing, lost all the superiority of his genius. Now-a-days, means of attack are superior to means of defence; in

conquests they should jointly make in Greece and the islands were to belong to him. (Livy, xxiii. 33.)

¹ A very ugly but curious bronze, found at Grumentum in Lucania. (Atlas of the *Institut archéologique*, vol. v., pl. 50.) Is this a souvenir of the Roman method before Capua, of cavalry corps where every trooper had a foot-soldier behind him, represented here by way of an *ex-voto*? Did Hannibal also imitate this organisation? The armour, or at least the helmet of the first man is not unlike the Carthaginian panoply, represented No. 8, p. 455. See also p. 454, note 3, what is said in respect to this panoply.

ancient times it was otherwise. Hannibal failed before Cumæ, which was defended by Gracchus, and was twice repulsed at Nola; in one of these engagements Marcellus killed five thousand of the Carthaginian army. At the same time Fabius crossed the Vulturinus, and, advancing slowly but surely, took three cities near Capua; Sempronius Longus defeated Hanno at Grumentum, and drove him back from Lucania into Bruttium; Valerius Lupinus captured the towns belonging to the Hirpini, and the authors of the revolt were all put to death; finally, from Nola, Marcellus sent out a portion of his troops to ravage the country of the Caudine Samnites.

Shut up amid the Roman armies of Campania, driven back wherever he made an attempt upon a fortified town, Hannibal was defeated without battles, by means of this skilfully conceived and firmly executed plan. The Lucanian and Apulian legions were approaching, and dissatisfaction broke out among his troops. In the siege of Nola, twelve hundred and sixty-two Numidian and Spanish horsemen had deserted; Hannibal therefore made haste to escape before all egress was cut off, and retreated as far as Arpi, near the Adriatic Sea; he was also influenced by the desire of going to meet Philip. This flight left Capua exposed to Roman vengeance. The siege at once began, and Fabius ravaged the adjacent country, keeping his forces encamped about three leagues from the city.

From Spain also nothing but good news arrived at Rome. The year 215 was therefore, fortunate in its events, but new perils were in store for the following year; Syracuse had proved unfaithful, and Philip was at last on his way.

The senate equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels, and kept on foot eighteen legions, without counting the army of Spain. Eight were threatening Hannibal, three held the Cisalpines in subjection, one was at Brundisium, ready to cross the Adriatic against Philip, two were in Sardinia, two more in Sicily, and one at Rome. This comprised a third part of all the able-bodied population of the countries subject to the legionary recruiting. Notwithstanding its victories, the army of Spain lacked everything, and the others were in a state of great destitution. The Scipios pressed their demands for money, corn, clothing for the

soldiers, rigging for the ships. But the treasury was empty, although taxation had been doubled,¹ and the weight of the *as* had been reduced by a decree, that the denarius should be worth sixteen, instead of ten, of the smaller coin, and the generals in Central Italy had coined a debased currency wherewith to pay their troops and commissaries.² The senate appealed to patriotism, and all ranks vied in a noble emulation. The guardians of widows and orphans carried to the temples the money of their wards, confiding this sacred deposit to the public credit; and three companies, with the sole condition that they should be the first to be reimbursed on the cessation of hostilities, undertook to supply food to the Spanish army. Sailors were needed for the fleet, and every senator furnished eight, with a years' pay; other citizens offered seven, six, or three, according to their means. In the land army the knights and the centurions relinquished to the State their pay; and when, after the victory at Beneventum, Sempr. Gracchus declared all the enrolled slaves in his army free, their masters refused to receive compensation until the war should be over.³ On the same conditions contractors furnished the means of keeping public buildings in repair, of purchasing horses for the magistrates, etc.; and, to reserve the precious metals for the public use, the Oppian law forbade women to wear by way of ornament above a half ounce of gold. Some young men had attempted to evade military duty; these the censors sought for, and they were sent away into Sicily to join the fugitives of Cannæ.

One common spirit of patriotic devotion animated the whole great body of Roman people. The soldiers were worthy of their chiefs; the courage of the former responded to the sagacity of the latter. Silus Sergius, one of the ancestors of Catiline, had received twenty-three wounds, and had lost his right arm; in this condition he made four more campaigns. The filial piety of his son had been much applauded, who caused a medal to be struck, representing Sergius on horseback, holding in the left hand an enemy's head, which he has just cut off. The Romans of that time were truly sons of Bellona, the divinity who gives martial ardour. To

¹ Livy, xxiii. 31.

² Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 227.

³ Livy, xxiv. 11, 18.

approach her altar, a man must wound himself in the thigh, and drink the blood which flows from thence.¹ Like the Bretons of mediæval history, they are ready to cry: "Drink thy blood, Beaumanoir!"

Rome gave, as we see, on every hand only the noblest examples. In the year 214 the people proposed to raise to the consulship two citizens not renowned for military services. One, Otacilius, was the nephew of the Cunctator. The first century named him. Fabius, president of the comitiæ, at once caused the election to be suspended, he reproached the people and the candidates, and pointed out to them what consuls the circumstances demand. Otacilius objecting to this, Fabius orders his lictors to advance. "Take care," he says, "we are yet in the Campus Martius; I am not within the city, the axes are yet among the rods;" and he sends the multitude to the poll. All the centuries then elected Fabius and Marcellus, one, as was said, the shield, the other, the sword of Rome. The people, notwithstanding their instinctive jealousy of the great aristocratic leader, had recognised the fact that desire for the public weal, and no barren ambition animated this old man, already laden with so many honours.³ At another election Manlius Torquatus refused the consulship; again the century of the *juniores* desire before voting to confer with the *seniores*, and name as their candidates those whom the old men recommend to them.⁴ We have no means of knowing what went on in Carthage at this time, but it seems certain that there was neither that disinterestedness on the part of the nobles, nor that wisdom among the common people, which existed at Rome.

To this picture we must hold up in contrast, the avidity of some, and the disorderly conduct of others. Thus, a certain



Coin of Silus Sergius.²

¹ Tertull., *Apol.*, 9.

² The obverse, ROMA, EX. S.C., that is to say, struck by order of the senate. Head of Rome or of Pallas, with the mark of the denarius. The reverse, the legend M. SERGI SILVS with a monetary symbol, and a horseman at full gallop bearing a human head. Silver denarius of the Sergian family.

³ Livy, xxiv. 7, 8, 9.

⁴ Livy, xxvi. 22.

Postumius of Pyrgi scuttled at sea some old empty vessels, and obtained pay for them as new and loaded with munitions; in Bruttium, one Pomponius Veientanus formed bands of slaves and adventurers, and carried on a predatory warfare.¹ But these evils are those of all periods; they are engendered necessarily by prolonged wars; we must however, mark their appearance in



Coin of Arpi.²

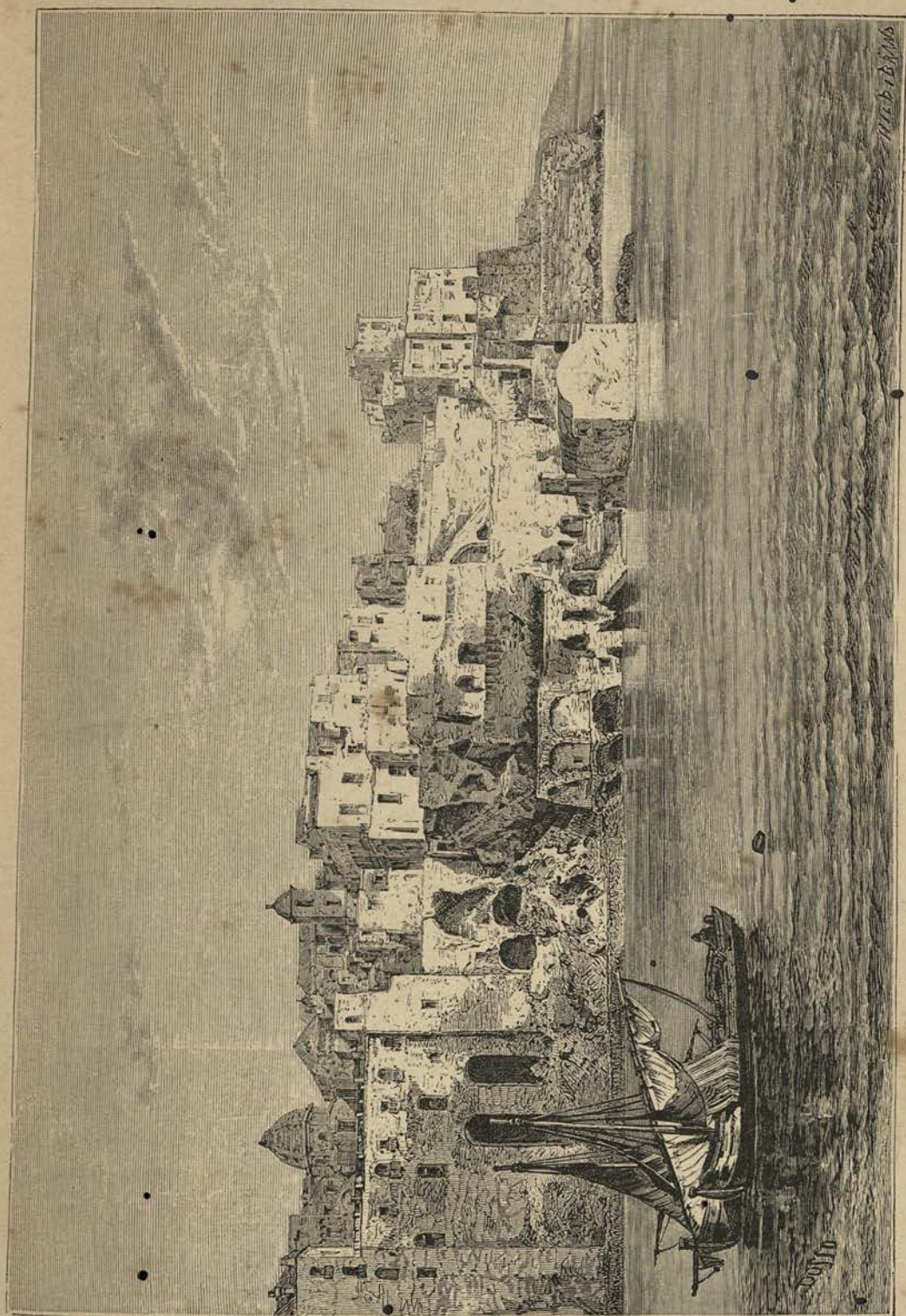
Roman history, for the exactions of Publicani will by and by render the empire necessary, while the deterioration of the old military discipline will at the same time facilitate its establishment.

In pursuit of Hannibal, Gracchus moved into Apulia. During the winter many skirmishes with the Carthaginians encamped around Arpi kept his troops alert. But Hannibal remained quite at liberty in respect to his own movements. Implored by Capua, which the two consular armies are pressing close, he boldly advances again into Campania, outwits the Roman generals and their heavy legions, overruns the enemy's country, keeping out of the way of the strongholds and camps that cover it, attacks Pozzuoli, Naples and Nola, where Marcellus again defeats him in a skirmish; then, weary of dashing himself against these unshaken legions—these ramparts before which he always leaves some of his troops—he hurries towards Tarentum, in the hope of drawing after him at least the impetuous Marcellus. But no one follows: Marcellus rejoins Fabius at the siege of Casilinum, which they now carry on together; and Tarentum where Hannibal has been maintaining spies, where he feels sure of ultimate success, and promises himself to welcome the fleets of Philip and of Carthage, a port which for four years he has been trying to seize—Tarentum, guarded by the Romans, eludes him still.

While Hannibal was before Nola, the consuls recalled Gracchus and his two legions of slaves from Luceria, to make one more effort to surround the Carthaginian army. At Beneventum

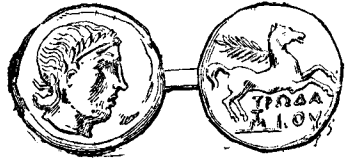
¹ Livy, xxv. 1, 3.

² ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ. Head of Ceres; reverse, ΔΑΙΟΥ, first letters of a magistrate's name. Unbridled horse galloping and a star. Silver coin. Arpi was situated in the Apulian plain, between Luceria and Sipontum.



View of Pozzuoli.

Gracchus encounters Hanno; before the battle he promised liberty to his slaves in case of victory, and Hanno escaped from the field with but two thousand men left; this success, the most brilliant gained by the Romans since the beginning of the war, drove the enemy out of the Samnite country, whose cities Fabius now retook, one after the other.

Coin of Salapia.¹

Hannibal at this time held only a few fortified towns in Apulia; he went into winter quarters around Salapia, within reach of Arpi, his outpost towards the centre of the peninsula, and facing the Epirote coasts, where events of importance were now going on. The defeat at Beneventum had thrown back his lieutenant, Hanno, into Bruttium. The territory held by the two opponents might at this time (the close of the year 214) be marked off by a line drawn from Mount Garganus to the mouth of the Laus, which falls into the Gulf of Policastro. This line, resting on the side towards Rome, upon fortified towns or entrenched camps, was defended in Lucania by the army of Gracchus; in Apulia, by that of the prætor Fabius. In the rear of Hannibal and Hanno, the Romans still held Calabria, Tarentum, and Rhegium. Capua remained blockaded by the camp of Suessula and the garrison of Casilinum.²

The campaign had ended disastrously for Hannibal. But in requiring the senate to keep in Italy, against himself alone, fourteen legions, he gave his allies and Carthage time and opportunity to make most important diversions, and to come to his assistance. Did they profit by this?

¹ A laureled head. On the reverse, TPQΔAM, a monogram, and three other letters; a free horse and a palm branch. Bronze coin of Salapia, an Apulian city on the coast of the Adriatic, but separated from the sea by a lagoon, *lago di Salpi*; although the port might, in case of need, serve for small vessels, it did not furnish Hannibal with the safe and easy communication he required on this coast to receive the galleys sent by Philip. However, according to M. de Saulcy, it is not certain that this coin belongs to Salapia; all the coinage of that city bears the name, which is not upon this piece. It may be that the monogram, MT, conceals the name of the town to which this coin belongs.

² A few Samnite cities still held out for Hannibal, among them Maronea and Aternuna, belonging to the Marrucini. (Livy, xxiv. 47.)

III.—HANNIBAL CREATES DISTURBANCES IN MACEDON AND

SYRACUSE.

Polybius relates that in the year 217 Philip was in Argos, witnessing the celebration of the Nemcan games, when a courier, arriving from Macedon, brought him news that the Romans had lost a great battle, and that Hannibal was master of the Italian lowlands. The king showed this letter to Demetrius of Pharos, who urged him to attack the Illyrians at once, and thence to pass over into Italy. Demetrius represented that Greece, already submissive to Philip, would continue obedient; that his enemies, the



Philip V., King of
Macedon.¹

Ætolians, were about to lay down their arms; that, finally, if he wished to make himself master of united Greece, a noble ambition, he must now cross the Adriatic and overthrow the Romans, already crippled by Hannibal. And the historian adds: "These words were charming to a king, young, brave, hitherto successful in his enterprises, and born of a race always aspiring to universal sway." These had been the dreams of Alexander the Molossian and of Pyrrhus, whose example the Illyrian now strove to impress on the weak heir of the throne of Macedon. Neither the prince nor his counsellor were dismayed at feeling the earth shaken beneath them by the shock of Rome and Carthage hurled against each other, and into the book of destiny, written by prudence and courage, they sought to carry their chimerical hopes. And yet all sagacious Greeks at this time were aware of the storm gathering in the west, and one with prophetic voice had cried, "Let Greece unite her forces; let her consider these immense armies now contending on the battlefields of Italy. That war will soon end; Rome or else Carthage will have conquered. Whoever is conqueror will then come to seek us out in our homes. Be mindful, O Greeks, and thou, Philip, most of all! Let us

¹ From a silver coin.

put an end to our discords, and labour unitedly to avert this peril!"

Vain words! Each state kept up its own rancours, and when after the battle of Cannæ, Philip concluded with Hannibal that imprudent treaty which laid upon him the burdens of the present for the sake of a very uncertain future, he found himself incapable of fulfilling its conditions.

Before going over into Italy according to agreement, Philip made an attempt to destroy the influence and power of Rome in Illyria. With a hundred and twenty galleys he attacked and took Oricum, at the mouth of the Aous, then, ascending the river, besieged Apollonia, an old and flourishing colony of Corinth. This ill-managed attack left time for Valerius Lævinus, the prætor, to bring over a legion from Brundisium. He easily recaptured Oricum, and by night surprised the Macedonian camp, whence Philip fled, half naked, and took refuge on board one of his vessels. The Romans, anchored all across the mouth of the river, barred the passage, and Philip, obliged to burn his fleet, fled overland to Macedon, while Lævinus established his winter quarters at Oricum. One campaign and one legion dispelled all the fears which that war had inspired.

The prætor had believed that he was about to contend with a powerful monarch, and he found opposed to him only an irresolute prince, who annoyed Greece, Macedon, and himself with his ever vacillating schemes. To keep in check for three years this king of Macedon the Roman general needed but a few thousand men; skilful emissaries, however, were also useful to him, by degrees alienating from Philip the king of Illyria, Athens, the Ætolians,¹ Sparta, Elis, and Messene; later even, Attalus of Pergamus, Rhodes, the Dardanians, and the Thracians. From this time the Romans fought with Philip rather by means of their allies than by their own troops. His forces were successively driven out of all the positions they had occupied in Greece, while the senate, with a little money and much craft, called down incessantly upon Macedon predatory incursions of the wild mountaineers of Dardania. In 205 Philip solicited peace; and this diversion, which might have determined the result of the strife between Rome and Hannibal,

¹ The treaty with the Ætolians gave to them all the cities that should be taken, and to the Romans all the plunder.

reduced by only a few troops the effective force of the legions of Italy.

The defection of Syracuse for some time caused much more serious difficulties. Hiero, to his last day, had remained faithful to Rome, and his son Gelon, whom he had associated with himself in power, shared his sentiments;¹ but Gelon died before his father, and when the latter died, in 216, he was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymus. Fifty years of tranquillity, and steadfastness to the same alliance, proved

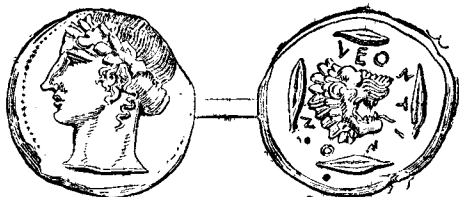


Coin of Gelon.³



Coin of Hieronymus.⁴

too much for turbulent Syracuse. As soon as the strong and gentle hand of Hiero had ceased to restrain his people, they fell under the power of a thousand contradictory desires, and disturbances; plots, and murders multiplied. Hieronymus, the young king, spoiled by power, as so often happens to those who inherit it in extreme youth, lost it by cruelty and debauchery;² this tyrant of fifteen was murdered by conspirators, and his



Coin of Leontini.⁵

murderers proclaimed liberty in Syracuse. They appointed prætors and a senate, without, however, being able to give them authority. They desired to preserve the Roman alliance, but two emissaries of Hannibal, born at Carthage of a Syracusan mother, Hippocrates and Epicydes, threw themselves into the tumult. These two foreigners had gained the confidence of the numerous mercenaries of the late king. Exiled from Syracuse, they intrigued with the army and with the inhabitants

¹ Livy and Polybius differ [completely] on this point, and we follow the opinion of Polybius.

² Here we meet with Polybius again (vii. 2): he is less severe upon Hieronymus than is Livy.

³ Head of Gelon, crowned. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΒΑ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a biga, at a gallop. Silver didrachma.

⁴ Head of Hieronymus, crowned. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ and a monetary mark. Winged thunderbolt. A silver didrachma.

⁵ A woman's head. On the reverse, ΛΕΟΝ ΤΙΝΟΝ (in archaic Greek). Lion's head in the centre, four grains of barley around it. Tetradrachma of Leontini.

of Leontini, accusing the prætors of a design to surrender the army to the Roman sword. The prætors were murdered, and Syracuse declared for her old enemy Carthage. •

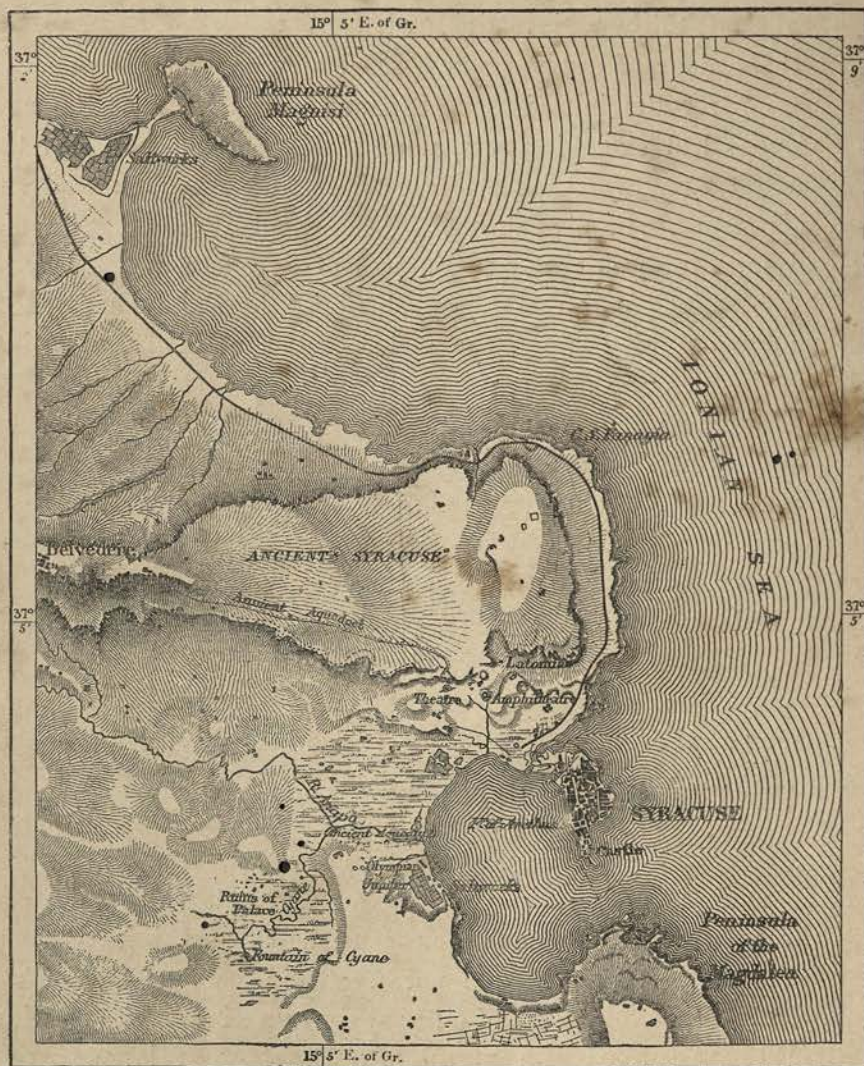
The tumult, which affected the whole island, decided the senate to send thither Marcellus, who, at the age of fifty, still showed the ardour of early years. He began by bringing over to the Roman party the inhabitants of Tauromenium, and at the news that Epicydes had excited the Syracusans, he seized upon Leontini, whose territory, renowned for its extreme fertility, would afford support to his troops. From Tauromenium he kept watch on the Ionian Sea; and Leontini was really an outpost of Syracuse, which city lay exposed by its loss, and was readily besieged by the Romans (214).

Syracuse occupied, upon the eastern coast of Sicily, a position admirable both for commerce and war. The central chain of the Sicilian mountains sinks here into two promontories which enclose an extensive marshy area, traversed by the little river Anapus. This marsh, now an old lagoon half filled up by alluvial deposits, over which broods incessant malaria, ends in the great harbour which the sea makes between the promontory at the south, Plemmyrium, and that at the north, Achradina, or the quarter of wild pear-trees. The harbour, oval in shape, and about six miles in circumference, was excellently adapted for vessels; even to this day it remains one of the best in Sicily. An island, Ortygia, lay across the entrance, which was about 1200 yards broad, and could be in part commanded by the *balistæ* and catapults of this fortress. A lesser harbour, sufficient however, for an ancient navy, separated Ortygia from the main land, and over the narrow channel, which terminated it at the west, a bridge had been constructed. A third harbour, Portus Trogilus, opened to the north, at the base of the cliffs of Hexapylon, so that vessels could enter at Syracuse in almost any winds.

The city occupied the northern promontory, a large triangle, of which Achradina was the base, and Epipolæ the vertex. Like Ortygia, Achradina had its own fortifications separating it from the lower quarters, Neapolis, Temenitis and Tyche; and an important work, fort Euryalus, crowned the extreme point of the heights of Epipolæ.

Marcellus established his magazines and reserves on the spot where the Carthaginians had so often encamped, upon a hill

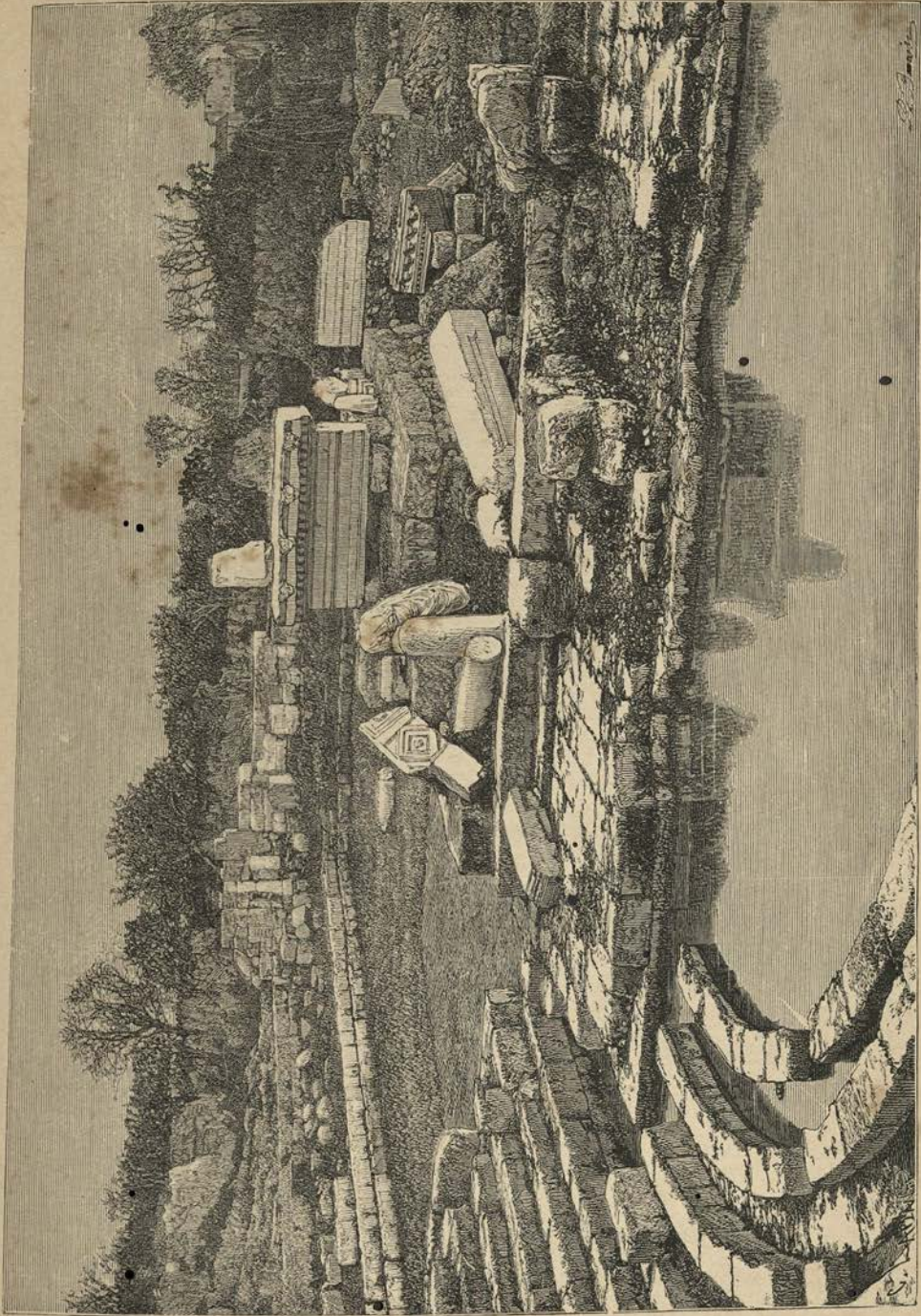
bearing a temple to Olympian Zeus. There he was defended by the marshes of the Anapus, and was in communication with his fleet which, mistress of the great harbour, threatened Achradina.



Scale 1:100,000
Port of Syracuse.

The real attack, however, was made on the other side of the city, near Hexapylon, where the road from Leontini and Megara comes in.

The city, by its position on a promontory guarded by marshes and the sea, by its lofty walls founded on the rock or rising



Remains of the Greek Theatre at Syracuse.

from the water, by the constant solicitude of Hiero to keep his granaries, his arsenals, and his magazines well filled, was, apparently, impregnable; and to all this was added the presence of Archimedes. For the sake of his native city this great geometer consented to leave the heights of abstract thought, and descend to practice. He covered the walls with newly-invented machines, which flung huge masses of rock to a great distance. As often as a Roman vessel ventured near the walls, an iron hand seized it, lifted it into the air, and dropped it upon the rocks to be shattered to pieces. If the ships remained in the open sea, mirrors skilfully disposed set them on fire.¹

Carthage, moreover, now showed a politic zeal in seconding Hannibal's designs. As soon as he proposed to reconquer the much-regretted island, she sent thither thirty thousand men, who took Agrigentum, Heracleia, Morgantia, where Marcellus had established his magazines, and caused the defection of sixty-five cities. The Romans preserved only the sea-coast towns, and Enna, the latter the price of treachery.



Headless Venus found in Achradina in 1814.²

¹ Plutarch *Marcel.*, 13-28. Neither Polybius nor Livy mention these mirrors. Buffon, in the last century, repeated this experiment.

² Saverio Cavallari, *Monumenti della Sicilia*, Pt. I. pl. 19.

But the fall or the deliverance of Syracuse could alone decide the fate of Sicily. All the strength of both parties met at this point.

Archimedes had constrained Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade, and the Carthaginian fleets re-victualled the place continually. Despite privations and extreme fatigue, despite a plague which decimated his troops, despite the provocations of Himilco and Hippocrates, the proconsul, waited, with a patience worthy of Fabius,



Coin of Enna.¹

until some treason, inevitable in a city containing so many factions and so many foreigners, should deliver it over into his hands. More than once such an opportunity occurred, but was made unavailing by the promptness of Epicydes. At last, some deserters came in with the story that on the morrow the people were to celebrate with noisy orgies the feast of Diana. A soldier had counted the bricks in the wall adjacent to Trogilus, and estimated in this way its height. Ladders constructed accordingly served for a nocturnal attempt; of the five fortified quarters, two, the Hexapylum and the Epipolæ, were seized without resistance under cover of the disorder of this night of revelry. Neapolis and Tyche opened their gates; and the fort Euryalus, the key to Syracuse, was surrendered by its commandant. But Epicydes still held out in Achradina and the island of Ortygia. Carthage sent armies, which the plague destroyed, and fleets that dared not attack the Roman galleys. For many months Marcellus was, as it were, besieged in the half-conquered city. Finally, Epicydes despairing, fled to Agrigentum; a Spanish mercenary opened one of the gates of Achradina, and the whole Roman army rushed in.² Archimedes, notwithstanding the orders of Marcellus, was killed by a soldier. Absorbed in his own meditations, he had not heeded

¹ On the obverse, a veiled head of Ceres, and the legend, M. CESTIVS MVNATIVS. On the reverse, Pluto carrying off Proserpine. Bronze coin struck by the *municipium*, MVN HENNAE.

² These Spanish mercenaries were rewarded by the gift of a city, Morgantia, and its territory. (Livy, xxvi. 21.) All captured deserters were decapitated.

the order of the legionary to follow him into the presence of the Roman general. Among the trophies brought to Rome by Marcellus was the sphere of this great geometer.

Livy extols the humanity of Marcellus; according to more credible accounts, Syracuse was given over to the soldiers, and the inhabitants, despoiled of their lands, had reason to envy their own slaves; it was forbidden, as it had been in the time of Dionysius the elder, to reside in the island of Ortygia, whence the rest of the city could be commanded (212).²

Syracuse having fallen, Carthage limited her efforts in Sicily to the defence of those places which had declared against Rome. Mutin, a Liby-Phœnician who had been trained under Hannibal, inflicted two severe checks upon Marcellus. He was shortly after superseded by Hanno, who at once suffered defeat. Irritated by renewed injuries, Mutin delivered up to the consul Lævinus the stronghold of Agrigentum, the principal citizens of the town were put to death and the remainder sold; and the Carthaginians, who now retained but a few unimportant places, abandoned the island finally. Lævinus disarmed the Sicilians, recompensed the partisans of Rome, cruelly punished those adhering to Carthage, and required all now to turn their attention to agriculture, in order to furnish food for starving Rome (210).⁵

In Sicily as in Greece, Hannibal's plans had failed; in Sardinia the Carthaginians had disappeared; in Spain Hasdrubal and



Marcellus.³



Coin of Syracuse.⁴

¹ Livy, xxv. 40. He says, however: *urbs diripienda militi data.* (ib., 31.)

² Cicero, ii. in *Verr.* v. 32, 38.

³ Visconti, *Iconog. romaine.*

⁴ Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, and a monogram. Diana, the huntress, and her dog. Silver coin of Syracuse.

⁵ Want was so great at Rome, that the measure of corn was worth 15 drachmas, and the senate sent as far as Egypt to obtain food. (Polybius, ix. 18.)

Mago could not get as far as the Pyrenees; in Italy the Gauls were forgetting the Punic war, and Capua, still blockaded, was shortly to expiate her treason. Himself withdrawn into Apulia, Hannibal had nothing to hope except from the exhaustion and lassitude of Rome. But Rome was a prodigy of skill and endurance; to the alliance of Hannibal with Philip and with Syra-



• The Old Walls of Agrigentum.

cuse she had opposed for her part an alliance with the Celtiberians, with Syphax, the king of Numidia, with Ptolemy, and with some of the Greek states. In the year 213 she had twenty legions under arms; in 212 and 211 she had twenty-three. By the taking of Arpi, where a thousand men of that precious cavalry which made the strength of the Carthaginian general, passed over to the Romans, by the loss of many places in Lucania and Bruttium, Hannibal found himself so closely shut in that the senate ventured to recall the two consular armies for the purpose of sending them against Capua. The Romans had not been willing to attack this

city seriously until their strength was such as to ensure a conspicuous vengeance.

Hannibal seemed crushed; suddenly he emerges from his inactivity and reappears more threatening, more formidable than before. He strikes repeated blows, surprises Tarentum,¹ brings back to his alliance the larger proportion of the people of Lucania and Bruttium, and what he dared not do after Thrasimene or after Cannæ, he is now about to attempt.

From the height of their walls the Romans will soon see him



Ruins of the Temple of Castor and Pollux at Agrigentum (restored with the actual fragments of the Temple).

encamped within 40 stadia of the city. This he does to save his best allies and that he may profit by the self-confidence of the Roman generals.

The senate had required hostages of Tarentum, and these persons were kept shut up at Rome in the *atrium* of the temple of

¹ Livy, xxv. 17.

Liberty. Gaining over two of their keepers, they fled, but were retaken before they had gone beyond Terracina. The Roman people, at this moment struck by superstitious terrors, were not inclined to mercy. The temples consecrated to Fortune and to Hope had just been burned, and threatening prodigies were reported on every hand. Moreover, this escape of the hostages, which had been planned by a Tarentine ambassador, was the token of an approaching defection; the hostages were beaten with rods and then thrown from the Tarpeian rock. They belonged to the best families of their city, and the plan was at once formed of avenging them. Thirty young nobles of Tarentum, led by Philemenus and Nico, leagued themselves to deliver Tarentum into the hands of the Carthaginians, who were encamped in the vicinity. Carrying boar spears and nets, and accompanied by dogs, they left the city under pretext of a hunt, and at once sought Hannibal's camp and revealed to him their design. Many times they repeated this device; as they always came back with much game, which Hannibal had caused to be collected for them along their road, no suspicion was awakened, and they had time to decide upon all the conditions of their treaty, which were as follows: Tarentum should retain her own laws, her property, and her liberty, with exemption from all tribute; she should not be forced to receive a Carthaginian garrison, but she should give up the Roman garrison.

One night, Philemenus, returning to town, made the accustomed signal for the gate to be opened to him. They surprised the guards, opened the gate, and Hannibal entered the city. All the Romans who had not time to take refuge in the citadel were massacred. This citadel, built upon a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, was extremely strong, and a wall with a broad deep moat separated it from the city. To take it, a formal siege would have been required, and a considerable length of time, which Hannibal could not spare, for the cries for help from Campania were now many and urgent (212).

Capua had derived no advantage from her alliance with Hannibal. Hemmed in by the neighbouring cities, which had remained faithful to Rome, threatened by the legions which were posted not far away, she saw her commerce destroyed, her agriculture ruined, and, in the midst of the most fertile fields of Italy, she was

reduced to beg food from the Carthaginians. Hannibal, detained by the siege of the citadel of Tarentum, charged Hanno, one of his lieutenants, to revictual Capua. But the colonists of Beneventum gave information of Hanno's march to the consul Fulvius, encamped near by at Bovianum, and Hanno, suddenly attacked, lost thirteen thousand men and all his convoy.¹ The bad effect of this defeat, it was necessary at once to counteract; Hannibal himself set out for Capua, and no man dared bar his way. Two thousand horse preceded him, and drove the Roman foragers away from the neighbourhood of the city; at the mere report of his approach the consuls fell back, one retreating towards Cumæ, the other into Apulia. He goes in pursuit of the latter, and, not able to reach him, takes his revenge upon Centenius, to whom 15,000 men had been entrusted, not one of whom escaped, and upon Fulvius, the prætor, who loses 16,000 men near Herdonea.² Shortly before this, Gracchus, drawn by a Lucanian into an ambuscade, had perished, and his army of slaves had been dispersed.³ A few months before, the Scipios had been defeated and slain in Spain. The capture of Syracuse, it will be seen, did not compensate for so many losses.

The Romans hastened to resume the prudent policy of Fabius; but, with their habitual tenacity, they recommenced the blockade of Capua. As soon as Hannibal had quitted Campania, the two consuls and a prætor, with a large army, made their plans to put an end to this city which had dared to give the signal for defections, and, not to be disturbed while engaged upon their revenge, they shut themselves in as in a fortress, building a double wall and digging a moat to shelter the camp against sorties and attacks from without. The supplies of this entrenched camp were secured by means of vessels from Sardinia and Etruria, provisions landed at Pozzuoli or at the mouth of the Volturnus being transported by the river as far as the strong town of Casilinum, where were established the magazines of the army.

The Roman senate had yet in Capua some faithful friends;

¹ [It seems that the Capuans neglected to meet Hanno's convoy according to his directions; it was the second attempt, which Fulvius found out and defeated.—*Ed.*]

² [These two complete victories are seldom mentioned in the list of Hannibal's triumphs.—*Ed.*]

³ App., vii. 35. See in Livy (xxv. 17) the honours paid him by Hannibal, the dancing, in Spanish fashion, around the funeral pyre, etc.

in 213 as many as a hundred and twelve of the young nobility had come over into the Roman lines; it was hoped that others might be incited to desert in the present year (211). The siege works were not yet completed when a herald was sent to the Capuans with this declaration: "All those who before the ides of March shall come out from the city shall save their liberty and their possessions."

This was but another way of indicating the fate reserved for the rest. They knew it well, and the leaders of the popular party, who were the masters of Capua, had no hope that Rome would pass over their treason. They organised, therefore, a system of intimidation, and put at the head of affairs, as *meddix tuticus*, a man of low birth, adored by the populace for his harangues against the wealth and treachery of the great. No man dared respond to the senate's last appeal.

These skirmishes around Capua gave rise to a military novelty. The centurion Q. Novius devised the plan of sending out foot soldiers, selected from the most athletic and active, to fight among the cavalry. Armed with a short buckler and seven javelins, they were seated behind the trooper on horseback, and on encountering the enemy were to leap to the ground and fight on foot. Thus the Campanians had to contend at once with foot soldiers, whose swift darts wounded or killed many men and horses, and cavalry who drove home the attack upon their disordered ranks. "From this time," adds Livy, "the Roman cavalry had the advantage over that of Capua."¹

Hannibal meanwhile had returned to Tarentum to urge the siege of the citadel, but as he knew no better than did the Romans that method which the Greeks had already so successfully employed of storming a fortified place, it still held out against him. The Carthaginian general therefore endeavoured to compensate himself by taking Brundisium, which would have given him a useful harbour upon the Adriatic, but the attempt was unsuccessful. About this time, being informed by some Numidians who had escaped from Capua that the city was about to surrender to the

¹ Livy, xxvi. 4. I do not believe, as Livy seems to say, that the corps of *velites* was then for the first time formed; I think that a portion of them were selected for a new service. The legions could not have done without light infantry until so late as this (211).

Romans, he hastened thither; the inhabitants, seeing his troops upon the heights of Mount Tifata, adjacent to the town, believed themselves safe again. But in vain did Hannibal fling himself against the Roman entrenchments. He had thirty-three elephants; some of these, killed under the walls, filled up the moat with their bodies; it made a bridge, and a Spanish cohort succeeded in crossing upon it; but the assailants were driven back, while a sortie of the besieged at the same moment was repulsed. Upon this, Hannibal now found himself unable to live in this wasted country, and consequently unable to take up a position before this impregnable camp, conceived the audacious project of relieving Capua by making a sudden attack upon Rome. For five days he had been in the neighbourhood of the legions; scarcely had the sixth night wrapped the two camps in its darkness when he silently moves away, leaving all his camp fires burning.

Preceded by his Numidians, who serve as scouts and detain all couriers, he advances by rapid marches through Samnium.¹ The Appian and the Latin roads are shorter but more frequented, and he is anxious to arrive before it is known that he has set out for Rome. Either the city, defenceless, will fall into his hands, or Appius, recalled from Capua to the succour of the Capitol, will be defeated on the road; should Appius bring up but half of his troops in order not to raise the siege, Hannibal can the more easily crush the succouring force or else will let it pass and break up the camp. In any case, Capua should be delivered. On this plan everything had been reckoned on, except the invincible firmness of the Romans [and the cowardice of the Capuans]. When Hannibal appeared,² the senate recalled not one single cohort; the whole population rushed to defend the walls,³ and two new legions drilling in the city came out boldly to meet the enemy. One should like to believe what Livy adds, that the same day a

¹ Here, as usual, I follow Polybius (ix. 2) rather than Livy; the latter says that Hannibal, marching upon Rome, went by the Latin road. But he has mastered only half of Hannibal's plan. On his return, he must have taken this route. Moreover, Livy is aware that the old historian Cælius Antipater says that Hannibal went from Campania into Samnium, and he adds (xxvi. 14) that it is uncertain whether it was going or returning that he took this road.

² At three leagues from Rome, on the banks of the Anio. Once he pushed forward as far as the Esquiline gate. Silius Italicus describes him contemplating the vast city from the top of a hill: *lentus celsis adstans in collibus intrat urbem oculis*. (xii. 488.) [See p. 656, note 3.—*Ed.*]

³ Shortly before this commissioners had been appointed to repair the walls and towers.

corps of cavalry was sent off to the army in Spain, and that the ground where the Carthaginians were encamped, being put up at auction in the Forum, found a purchaser at the usual valuation; but the departure of cavalry would have been an imprudence, and the sale a bravado, for which the Romans were not at this time in the mood.

For Hannibal, the dash upon Rome had failed; but he did



Region called the Camp of Hannibal, at Rocca di Papa.¹

not doubt that Appius was coming, and he waited for him five days, spreading frightful devastation all around the city. When, according to his calculations, Appius was half way towards Rome, the Carthaginian general hastened his return to Capua by the shortest route (the *via Latina*), leaving the consuls and their recruits to believe that he fled before them. But the Romans had never let go their prey; Appius had remained in his entrenchments! Thus Hannibal only took vengeance upon the Roman force that had followed him: one night he fell upon their camp and

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* at Paris.



Castel Gandolfo.

slew a large number, and finally he retreated towards Rhegium, not to hear the despairing cries for help that came from the city he had not been able to save.

When the descendants of the Romans of the heroic age sought in the environs of their city the place where the formidable Carthaginian had stopped, they found no more suitable site for his camp than that Alban Mount, whose volcanoes had once shaken



Temple of the God Rediculus.¹

all Italy, and a wide field sloping towards the crater of the Monte Albano; below Rocca di Papa became, and has remained, "the camp of Hannibal." From these heights (Castel Gandolfo), covered with trees centuries old, whose predecessors doubtless sheltered the hero, he was able to view at his feet the Latin plain, the seven hills, and the strong wall of Servius which sheltered this indomitable people from his attack.²

¹ From a restoration by M. Thomas, *École des Beaux Arts*.

² [According to other accounts, he approached within 3 leagues of the city with his army, and even rode up to the walls in a *reconnaissance* with some cavalry.—*Ed.*]

Festus asserts that the Romans, proud that Hannibal should have fallen back so far after having dared so much, built in front of the Porta Capena a temple to Ridicule. There still exist in the neighbourhood of the circus of Caracalla some ruins bearing that name. But the *deus Rediculus* was originally only the god who brings back (*redire*);¹ the Romans did not laugh at Hannibal.²

Capua opened her gates (211). The chastisement was terrible. Before the entry of the Romans, thirty senators gathered at the house of one of their number, Vibius Virrius, had caused a banquet



Faunus and Tutanus (*deus Rediculus*).³

to be prepared with what was left of Falernian wine and the provisions of the siege. At the close they bade one another adieu; the last cup was a poisoned draught. Others counted on the generosity of the Romans, and Livy asserts that the senate had decided to pardon them, but that the proconsul, forestalling the messenger who brought the good news, ordered their execution before reading the despatch. We must make due allowance for the Roman severity and the manners of the time; the Capuans were to suffer what their enemies would have suffered had the case been reversed.³ Seventy senators were beheaded. When the execution was ended, a Campanian, Jubellius Taurea, approached Fulvius, relates the historian, and cried out to him, "Since thou art so

¹ This god, an old Pelasgic divinity, was also called Tutanus (Varro, *ap. Nonnius*, 33), or the Protector; under the title of Fascinum he turned away spells and dangers. Faunus was also a protecting divinity.

² [This is the very improbable account of Polybius, probably invented by Roman vanity. According to Livy (xxxvi. 8), the proconsul, Q. Fulvius, who is the hero of the hour, brought up 16,000 men just in time to the *porta Capena*, and saved Rome from a panic which left an indelible remembrance for centuries to come. He was put in command of all the city forces, over the consuls. Appian adds that it was owing to his watchfulness that the Roman army pursuing Hannibal was saved from annihilation in his night attack. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.* p. 440-2.—*Ed.*]

³ Double Hermes, bearing united the head of Faunus, crowned with ivy, and of Mutunus Tutanus, winged and crowned. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3277.

thirsty for our blood, why not strike me thyself, that thou mayest boast of having killed a braver man than thou?" "I should like well to do it," Fulvius rejoined, "but a decree of the senate forbids." "Well, then," rejoined Jubellius, "I will show thee something that thou wouldst not have the courage to do;" whereupon he killed his wife, his children, and lastly himself.¹ Three hundred nobles were condemned to chains, all the people sold, and the city and its territory declared Roman property. Some senators are said even to have proposed effacing to the last vestige the city which had dreamed of being mistress of Italy. Atella and Calatia had the same fate. For years these fertile regions were to be inhabited only by poor labourers, or by farmers and gangs of slaves belonging to the Roman nobility; and where once rose flourishing cities there never again was known the pride and delight of the ancients—municipal life. No more *curia*, no more magistrates, no more public assemblies; the rich and splendid Capua was reduced to be only a haunt of labourers, *receptaculum aratorum*, a depôt for harvests, *locus condendis fructibus*. Year by year a prætor brought thither the law and will of Rome.² Such was the terrible practice of war in ancient times. It made many victims, but it produced also the indomitable resistance, and the fierce ardent patriotism of a Jubellius Taurea.

The sons of some of the senators slain at Capua essayed to avenge their fathers and their country. The evening before a festival of Minerva they set fire to Rome at several parts of the Forum. All night and the following day fire raged in the city, and Rome would have been entirely consumed had not a slave given information of the plot, and caused the arrest of the incendiaries. Entrance into the city was at once forbidden to all Campanians.

The following year (210) the levies were made with difficulty; three years earlier it had been necessary to send commissioners among the allies to enrol the young men before the age of military service. This time they were able to collect only twenty-one legions, and to equip the fleet of Lævinus, destined for Sicily, the senators brought into the treasury all the gold, silver, and bronze that they possessed. One of the new consuls was Marcellus. On

¹ Val. Max., III. ii. 24, 1.

² Cicero, *de Leg. agr.*, 32, 33; Livy, xxvi. 16.

his return from Sicily with the spoils of Syracuse he had asked for a triumph, but only an ovation was granted him. He hoped this year for more distinguished success. "He who has been able to conquer the Carthaginians after Cannæ," he wrote to the senate, "will not let this man long exult over his last victory." He began well by the recapture of Salapia, whose Carthaginian garrison, five hundred Numidians, were put to the sword. At this very moment Hannibal, in the neighbourhood of Herdonea, was destroying a prætor and thirteen thousand legionaries, the second victory obtained by him near that city. It seemed that he would have respected this scene of his two victories. But the inhabitants had called in Fulvius, and Hannibal, for his part, desired to give a sharp lesson to those who proved unfaithful; the partisans of Rome were put to death, the city destroyed, and the surviving inhabitants transported to Thurium and Metapontum. Marcellus hastened to meet him, and a battle took place at Numistro; but notwithstanding the promises made by Marcellus, the combat remained indecisive; the Romans, however, were able to hold the field and to burn their dead, which gave them reason to speak of this engagement as a victory. A later writer, less occupied than Livy with the glory of Roman families and the honour of Marcellus, says that Hannibal skilfully posted himself between two sunken pathways which protected his flanks, and that he forced the consul to fall back.¹ A squadron attempting to revictual the citadel of Tarentum was destroyed about this time, but the brave garrison still continued their heroic resistance, and by successful sorties kept the effeminate city in perpetual alarm. The situation remained the same. Meanwhile Rome rallied slowly; nothing had made amends to Hannibal for the loss of Capua and of Sicily: Scipio in Spain was re-organising the Roman army; the Carthaginians, driven out of Samnium and Campania, had not a single great city upon which to rest, and their formidable chief had no other defence outside of his camp than the terror with which he inspired his adversaries.

The year 209 brought back Fabius, the Cunctator, to the consular office. While his colleague, Fulvius, guarded Campania and

¹ Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii. 2, 6.

Samnium from his position at Beneventum, while the garrison at Rhegium was keeping the attention of Hannibal's lieutenants fixed upon the extremity of Bruttium, and while Marcellus detained the Carthaginian leader at Canusium with three engagements upon three successive days, Fabius advanced rapidly upon Tarentum, and crowned his brilliant military career by the recapture of that city. Tarentum was treated as Capua had been: thirty thousand of her citizens were sold,¹ and Fabius poured 3,000 talents into the treasury at Rome. The same year Scipio entered Carthagera.

The senate were already practising the policy summed up by the poet: *parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. • Tarentum and Capua were roughly handled on account of their importance, but the same Fabius, who so sternly carried out the senate's decrees against Capua, received kindly the Hirpini, the Lucanians, and the Volcentes, only gently blaming them for the misconduct of which they were now repenting. This was done to encourage treachery towards the Carthaginians: these nations had given up the Carthaginian garrisons posted in their towns.² By such judicious moderation Fabius well nigh gained the whole of Bruttium.³

The following year (208) Marcellus, being again consul, and his colleague, Crispinus, thought they could deal Hannibal a crushing blow, since the Carthaginian had not one fortified place left to him in Apulia. But upon the opening of the campaign, Marcellus fell into an ambuscade while reconnoitring imprudently, and was slain with the principal officers of his army. "A brave soldier," Hannibal said, on viewing his dead body, "but a poor general." However, he made a stately funeral for him, and placed upon the urn containing his ashes a golden wreath, which was afterwards sent to the son of the dead general.⁴ Crispinus, though severely wounded, had time to inform the adjacent cities that Hannibal, being in possession of the signet ring of Marcellus,

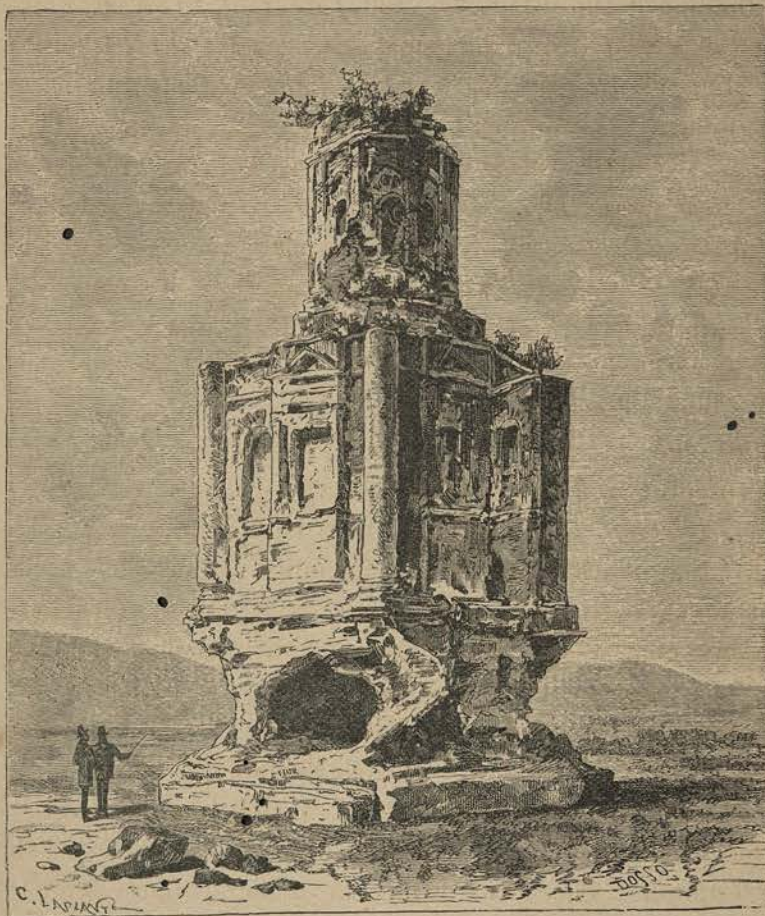
¹ Polybius, x. 1; Livy, xxvii. 16; Plut., *Fab.*, 21 *seq.*; Zonaras, ix. 8.

² In pursuance of this plan, the senate had granted the right of citizenship to Mutin the Libyan, and to Mericus the Spaniard, who had betrayed Achradina (see p. 645). Mutin appears later in command of the Numidian cavalry and the elephants in the army of the Scipios against Antiochus in 190. (Livy, xxxviii. 41.)

³ Livy, xxvii. 15.

⁴ The museum of the Capitol contains a statue said to be of Marcellus, but the head does not seem to resemble that on the coins.

would probably seek to surprise them, and this precaution succeeded; in an attempt upon Salapia, the stratagem being detected, he was repulsed with a loss of six hundred men. He succeeded, however, in raising the siege of Loeri, which the Romans had



Ancient Tomb, called Della Cannochia, near Capua.¹

this time begun with engines of war supplied by the Greeks in Sicily.

Meanwhile, the allies of Rome were growing very weary of this murderous war. For eleven years Hannibal had been in Italy manœuvring with his scanty force amidst fourteen legions, outwitting the most experienced consuls, and as free in his movements, amid so many armies and fortified towns, as if the Romans had

¹ *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris), cabinet of engravings.

remained shut up behind their own walls. His victories had not been able to raise Italy in arms against them, nor to triumph over their firm resolve, but the courage of the allies was beginning to give way. The warlike peoples of central Italy did not yet murmur, but in the north the Etruscans and Umbrians threatened defection. It became necessary to make sure of the senate of Arretium, and to send an army to keep these nations under control.¹

At Rome, the number of citizens had been reduced from 270,000 to 137,000.² Money was required for the fleet and for the army. Once more there was a general rivalry in patriotic devotion, and the senate resolved to employ the treasure kept for moments of extreme necessity. The *aurum vicesimarium*, which was the twentieth part of the price of enfranchised slaves, had produced, since the decree of 357 which had established that tax, the sum of 4,000 pounds of gold, which to-day would be worth nearly £168,000, and at that time was a very much more important sum. To all the political and military qualities which caused the triumph of Rome, we must add that far-reaching sagacity of the greatest administrative nation of antiquity which had prepared so long in advance this resource against evil days. Twelve colonies made reply that they had neither soldiers nor money, and the senate, powerless against them, took care to keep the matter quiet. Fortunately, eighteen others gave all that was required. "This devotion," says Livy, "saved Rome once more."

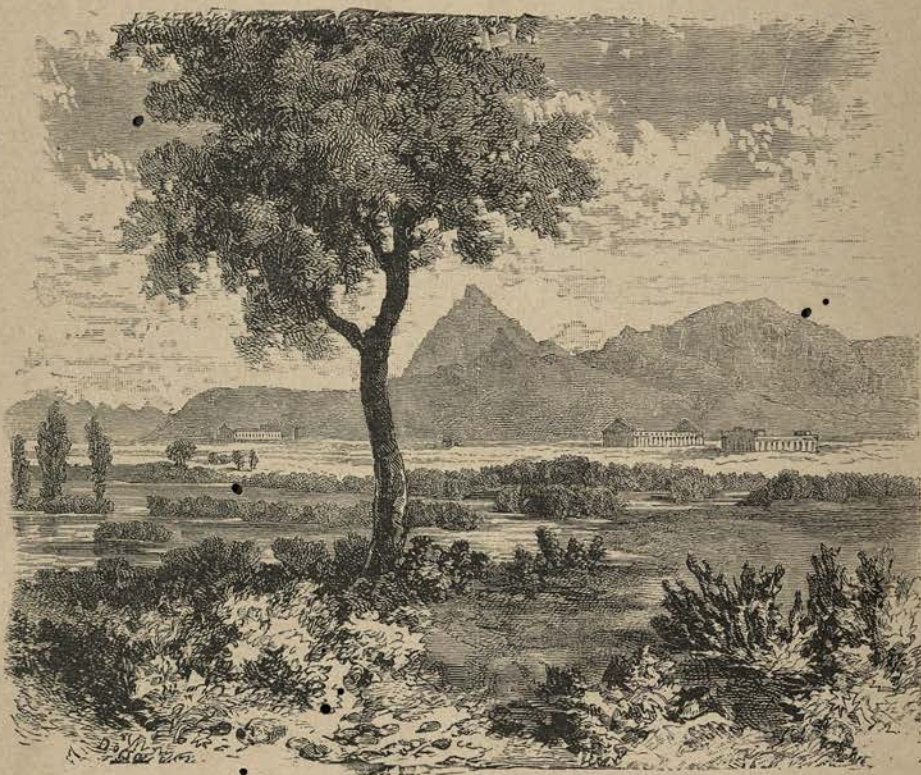
Their names should have been honoured, and Rome would have done well to engrave them in letters of gold upon the walls of her Capitol. The cities were, in general, those which having suffered most from the evils of war, were most desirous to bring it to an end—Signia, Norba, Saticula, and Fregellæ in the south of Latium; Cosa, Pæstum, and Pontia upon the Tyrrhenian Sea; Luceria and Venusia in Apulia; Beneventum, Æsernia, Spoleto in Samnium; Brundisium, Adria, Firmum, and Ariminum, which, situated on the Adriatic, had reason to fear Carthaginian pirates;

¹ Varro, the general vanquished at Cannæ, was in command. (Livy, xxvii. 24.)

² This estimate is very probably incorrect, for the next censors found 214,000 citizens (Livy, xxix. 37). Populations diminish less during great wars than is believed. In 1791 the population of France was 26,343,074, according to the Committee of the Constituent Assembly. In 1815, after twenty-four years of battles, it had increased three millions, and by official report had attained the number of 29,226,000.

and lastly the colonies on the river Po, Cremona and Placentia, whose existence could only be secured by Rome. Those which had refused their assistance were nearly all of them much nearer Rome—Nepete, Sutrium, Carseoli, and Narnia on the north, Alba, Ardea, Sora, Circei, Interamna, Setia, and Cales on the south.

At the moment when threatening signs of fatigue were manifest among the Latin allies, Rome was exposed to greater dangers

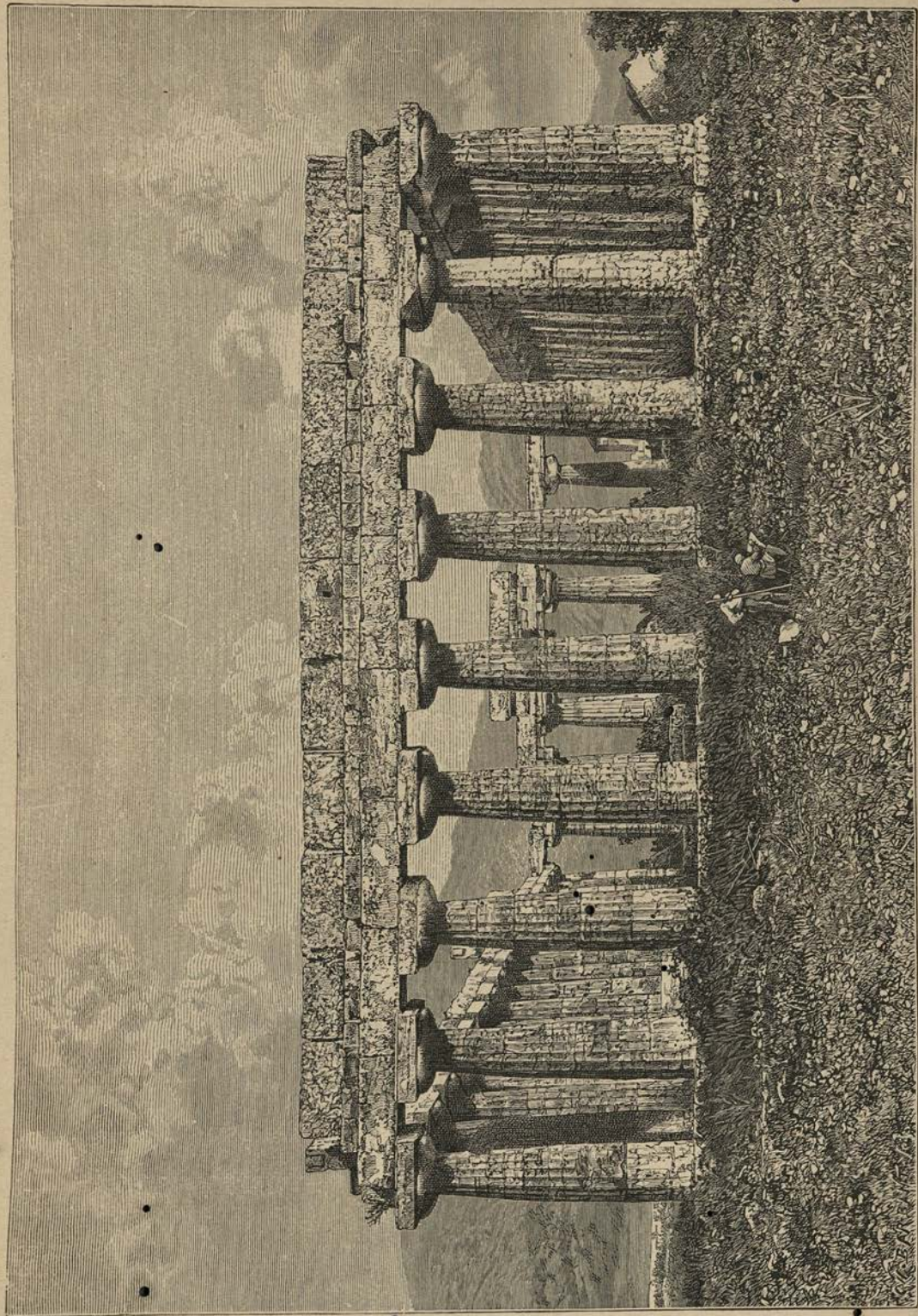


Ruins of Pæstum.¹

than she had ever before incurred. P. Scipio, who had been successful in Spain, had now suffered Hasdrubal to escape him, and the latter was advancing upon the Alps with an army increased upon the way by Gallie mercenaries. Notified by public rumour, Hannibal collected all his garrisons scattered throughout Bruttium, and set out through Apulia to meet his brother.

At Rome, in order to prepare against this new peril, the

¹ This general view of Pæstum, clearly showing the situation of her three temples, represents the ruins as they appeared in 1750, at which time they were brought to the notice of the artistic and scientific world. Engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris).



One of the ruins at Paestum (probably not a temple).

senate annulled the exemption enjoyed by the maritime colonies, called in the disbanded volunteers (*volones*), and called home several corps of picked men. Scipio sent ten thousand men and a thousand cavalry; the prætor of Sicily four thousand archers and slingers. In taxing to the utmost all their resources the consuls were able



Cascade of the Liris below Sora, after its Junction with the Fibrenus.¹

to collect a hundred thousand legionaries. Besides this, a fortified camp outside of Narnia defended the road through Umbria to Rome (207).

Of the two consuls, one, C. Claudius Nero, had not up to this time signalised himself by any brilliant exploits. He had served under Marcellus and had the fiery courage of that leader, together with an audacity akin to rashness. The other consul, Livius, condemned eight years before on retiring from the consulate [for

¹ From the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris). Cicero had a villa on an island in the Fibrenus, near by, where he wrote his treatise *De Legibus*. See the charming description he gives of the place in this treatise. (ii. 1, 3.)

peculation of booty in the second Illyrian war] by one of those decisions of the people which the spirit of faction inspires, had quitted Rome and lived in the country, an embittered hermit, suffering in all the woes of his ungrateful country, but refusing the succour of his strength and experience. The consuls Marcellus and Lævinus triumphed at last over this persistent grief. They

compelled him to shave and to lay aside his mourning, and to return to his place among the senators, who laid upon him for the second time the duties of the consulship. Nero and Livius had been enemies, but the public peril and the appeals of the senate re-united them. Upon the approach of those great events which the year 207 was to witness, disastrous presages multiplied on every hand. At Cære a vulture flew into the temple of Jupiter; at Cumæ rats gnawed the golden ornaments of the statue of the



Apollo of the Vatican.¹

god; the lake of Volsinia flowed with blood; stones fell from heaven; thunderbolts smote the temples of the gods and the walls and gates of the city.

• To meet these dangers, and as if a breath from Greece had

¹ Statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino.

reached Rome, choirs of young girls, chanting through the city verses composed by the poet Andronicus, accomplished the expiations. "After a pure, chaste sacrifice offered by matrons, a procession set out from the temple of Apollo. Two white heifers came first; behind them were borne two cypress-wood statues of Juno Regina. Then came twenty-seven young girls in trailing garments singing hymns in honour of the goddess. The decemvirs,¹ crowned with laurel and clad in the prætexta, followed the chorus of maidens. From the Porta Carmentalis the procession marched to the Forum, where the young girls performed sacred dances, singing in cadence" (Livy).

Meantime Hannibal was seeking to break through the three Roman armies, which from Capua, from Venusia, and from Tarentum barred his way into upper Italy. Nero had frequently commanded the cavalry of a consular army; he knew how to send out scouting parties and to lay ambushes; near Grumentum he prepared an ambush for the Carthaginians, into which their leader fell, as far as Hannibal could fall; it was a success for the Romans, but not a victory. Falling back as far as Metapontum, Hannibal took up a position in the neighbourhood of Canusium, near the scene of his most brilliant victory, and awaited in an entrenched camp the arrival of messengers from his brother.³

The latter had crossed the Alps prosperously, and was now in the Cisalpine at the head of fifty-two thousand fighting men, to whom eight thousand Ligurians had lately been added. Instead of hastening his march to bring his brother this re-inforcement of 60,000 men, he stopped to besiege Placentia, and, when recognising his error and the impossibility of taking the city, he finally set forward into



Pontifex Veiled and Laurel-Crowned.²



Coin of Canusium.⁴

¹ *Decemviri sacris faciundis*. They had charge of the Sibylline books.

² Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,062 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

³ [On the contrary, Nero had conducted the campaign with great ill-success, and had allowed Hannibal, with a weaker army, to out-manceuvre him, and force him up all the way from Bruttium to the Aufidus.—*Ed.*]

⁴ Two vases and a lyre. Silver coin.

Umbria, it was too late. Livius barred the way, and Nero was encamped before Hannibal. Hasdrubal had entrusted six Numidian and Gallic horsemen with letters for his brother, but [after passing all through Italy] they fell in with the outposts of Nero. So much had been conceded to prudence hitherto that Nero was now tempted to seek for victory from audacity; he therefore took the boldest resolution of the war, namely to abandon his camp before Hannibal and to bring 7,000 of his best troops to his colleague.¹ The plan was not so rash as it seemed. Hannibal, after two defeats, had just been executing between the Gulf of Tarentum and the banks of the Aufidus a series of marches and counter marches, during which he had never been able to get the advantage by any neglect or error on the part of his adversary. He, therefore, in turn was condemned to prudence. A Roman camp was not easily to be taken by storm. The Carthaginians, skilful as they were in the open country, did not know how to carry by main strength a strongly fortified position. Nero felt sure that his camp, even deprived of the best of the legionaries, could hold out until his return. He left there, besides, soldiers who had seen Hannibal retreat, also arms and munitions in plenty, and great hopes for the future. To reach the other army he had first to cross the plain which extends from the Aufidus to the Frento, between the Apennine chain and the huge bulk of Mount Garganus;² this was the difficult point of the enterprise. But, midway stood the fortified town of Luceria, where the expedition could find support in case of need; beyond, they would come into a friendly country, from which, since Cannæ, the Carthaginians had been excluded. It was only necessary, therefore, to conceal from the enemy a day's march or two and the outgoing expedition would be safe, as well as the camp they left behind them.

Nero announced to the senate his design; he gave orders to the two legions in the city to march out and occupy the strong position of Narnia, which closes the valley of the Tiber; to the legion at Campania to return to Rome; and to the people of the

¹ Frontinus, *Strateg.*, I. i. 9. Livy (xxvii. 43) says six thousand infantry and a thousand horse, but he adds that Nero's force was increased upon the road by many veterans and volunteers. [This is only the Roman account.—*Ed.*]

² The illustration on p. 669 represents the site at the foot of Mount Garganus where stood in ancient times the city of Merinum, five miles from the modern city of Vietri.



The Monte Gargano.

country through which he should pass to have ready along the way provisions and transports. The rumour that a fresh and formidable African army was to bring fire and sword and slavery once more into their land had struck terror to the hearts of all. The orders of the consul were obeyed with promptness. The inhabitants ran eagerly to meet these soldiers whom they held to be the saviours of Italy, and every man brought what he had for men and horses, so that nothing detained the march; in six days¹ they had made more than 260 miles,² and Nero came up with his colleague on the banks of the Metaurus. Not to give the alarm to the enemy, he entered the camp by night, and made no addition to its extent, his soldiers being received into the tents of their comrades. But in the morning the trumpeters sounded twice, and by this Hasdrubal became aware that the two consuls were there together; his pickets also reported that there were to be seen in the enemy's camp old bucklers, lean horses, and faces sun-burnt as by recent marching. He believed his brother defeated, possibly killed; and all the forces of Rome gathered against himself. He retreated, his guides led him astray, and abandoned him; the consuls overtook him, and he was obliged to accept battle in a disadvantageous position. Nero, whom ten years' war with Hannibal has well trained in Carthaginian tactics, turned the left wing of Hasdrubal, cut the Gauls in pieces, and attacked in the rear the Spanish troops whom Livius was pressing hard in front. The Roman historians, who rightly consider this battle the reprisals of Cannæ,⁴ maintain that of all this army, not a single man

Roman Trumpeter.³

¹ Possibly seven, for Nero was six days in returning, and Livy says that he marched more rapidly on the return: *citatiore quam inde venerat agmine*. (xxvii. 50.)

² The distance between the Metaurus and Canusium is 285 Roman miles, or 422 kilometers, which gives about 70 kilometers, or 45 miles, for each of the six day's marches.

³ Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,065.

⁴ *Reddita æqua Cannensi clades . . . videbatur* (Livy, xxvii. 49). Polybius (xi. 5) says

escaped; "fifty-six thousand," they say, "fell with their leader, who, as a worthy son of Hamilcar, threw himself into the thickest of the *mêlée* when he perceived that victory was going over to the Romans."¹

The very night after the battle Nero set out on the return; and the thirteenth² day from his departure he was in his camp again (207). His success had justified him. The head of Hasdrubal, thrown into the Carthaginian camp,³ told Hannibal the destruction of his last hope. "I perceive here the fortune of Carthage," he is said to have exclaimed, bitterly. But fortune had nothing to do with it; he himself had been false to his own genius in being deficient in vigilance.

While Nero was accomplishing this audacious march, Rome was a prey to the most cruel anxiety. The matrons of the city crowded the temples, wearying the gods with their supplications; the senators were never absent from the curia, nor the citizens from the Forum. It seemed as if all dangers hitherto incurred were nothing in comparison with this supreme peril. Finally two horsemen arrive from Narnia with news of a great victory. Doubt was still felt, until a letter came from the camp. The messenger wished to give it to the prætor and to enter into the presence of the senate; the crowd detained him and dragged him to the rostra; but the magistrates interpose, and this people, respecting in their joy, as they have often done in their anger, the old customs of the city, repress their legitimate impatience. The letter is first read to the Conscript Fathers, then to the people; it announces the approach of three consular envoys who have been present at the battle. The crowd hastens to meet them as far as the Milvian bridge. They are followed to the Forum, to the curia, and mounting the rostra, they relate all the details of the great event.

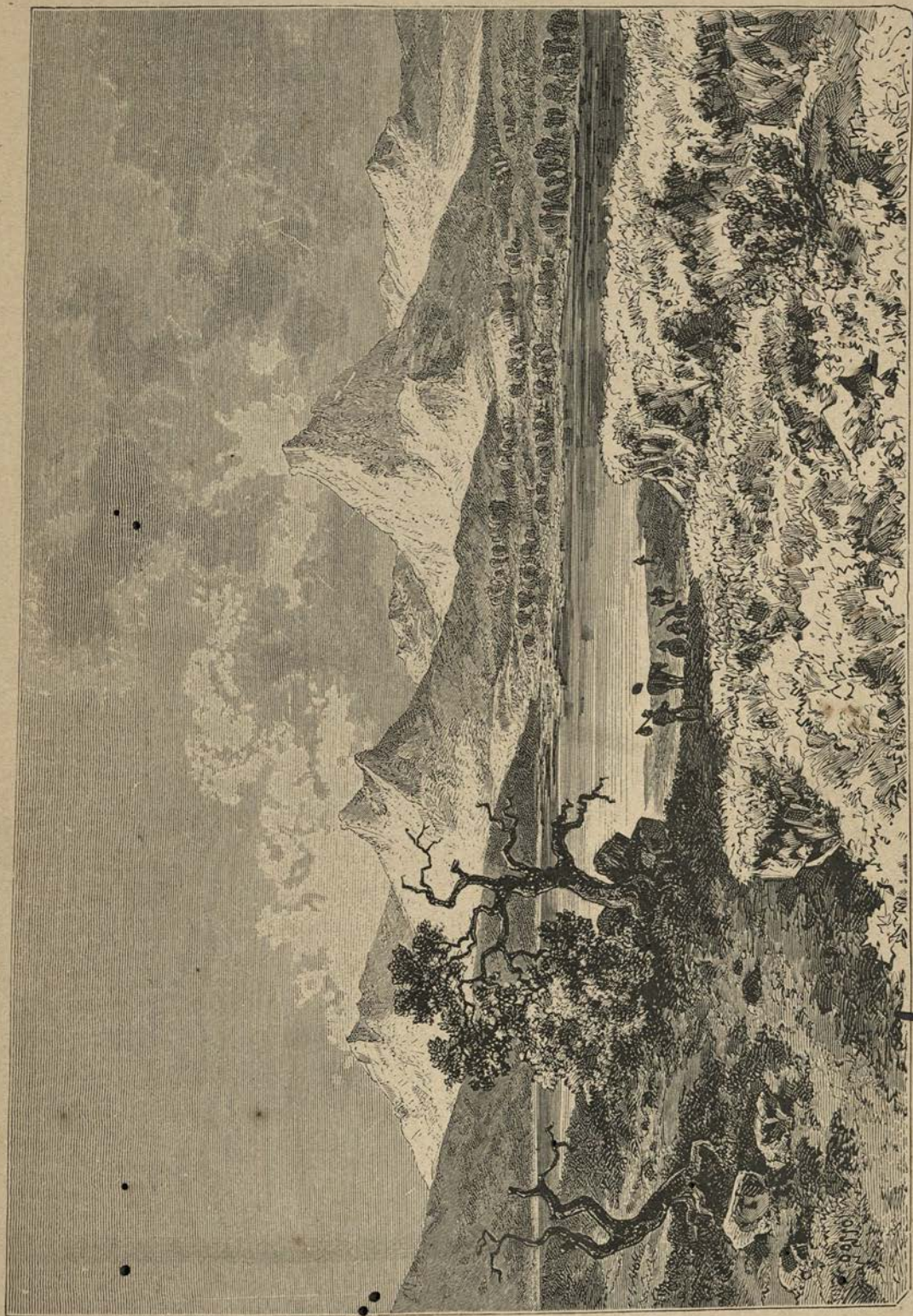
only: ἀπὸ θανάτου . . . οὐκ ἐλάττωσε μυρίων. From the sale of the prisoners more than 300 talents were obtained. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* IV. iv. 4:—

*Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos: occidit, occidit,
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis Hasdrubale interempto.*

¹ [Polybius says 10,000 Carthaginians and 2,000 Romans.—*Ed.*]

² Possibly fourteenth.

³ [This contrasts strangely with the respect always shown by Hannibal for his fallen foes.—*Ed.*]



Monte Pollino and the Valley of the Crathis.

When they tell how many enemies have fallen, how the leader is slain, and how Nero is carrying his head to Hannibal, a great shout answers them back. Then a part of the crowd hastens to the temples to thank the gods; others rush to their homes to relate to the women and children and the old men, to all who have not heard the good news, that Rome is saved and the Carthaginians overthrown.

Sheltered in Bruttium, Hannibal however remained in Italy five years longer, till Scipio moved him from that impregnable retreat by himself laying siege to Carthage.

To understand how Hannibal was able to defend himself so long in this region we must notice its conformation. "The Calabrian peninsula is mountainous and very rugged.....The Apennines rise in abrupt escarpments above the zone of forest trees. Monte Pollino, overlooking the two seas, is higher than the Matese and all the other peaks in the Neapolitan territory; the group of which it is the centre occupies the peninsula from one sea to the other, and extends along the shore of the western waters in a wall of rocks more abrupt even than those of Liguria, and much more inaccessible by reason of the complete absence of roads. Towards the south it opens into beautiful wooded valleys, where the inhabitants gather from the trunks of the ash trees *manna*, an important article of commerce. The deep valley of the Crathis limits on the south and east this first mountain mass, and separates it from a second, less lofty, but more extended at its base; this is the Sila, whose schist and granite cliffs, of much more ancient origin than the Apennines, still keep the gloomy grandeur of their vast forests. South of the Sila rises a third mountain group, well named the Aspromonte, an enormous ridge, scarcely divided into distinct summits, but streaked over its entire extent with reddish ravines, which in winter are the beds of furious torrents. "The rough mountain,' still thickly wooded, spreads broadly out into the Ionian Sea its promontories, plumed with palm trees, and finally sinks beneath its waters at a point designated by sailors as the Parting of the Winds (*Spartivento*)."²

² Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, vol. i. pp. 485—6.

CHAPTER XXV.

END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR; THE SCIPIOS.

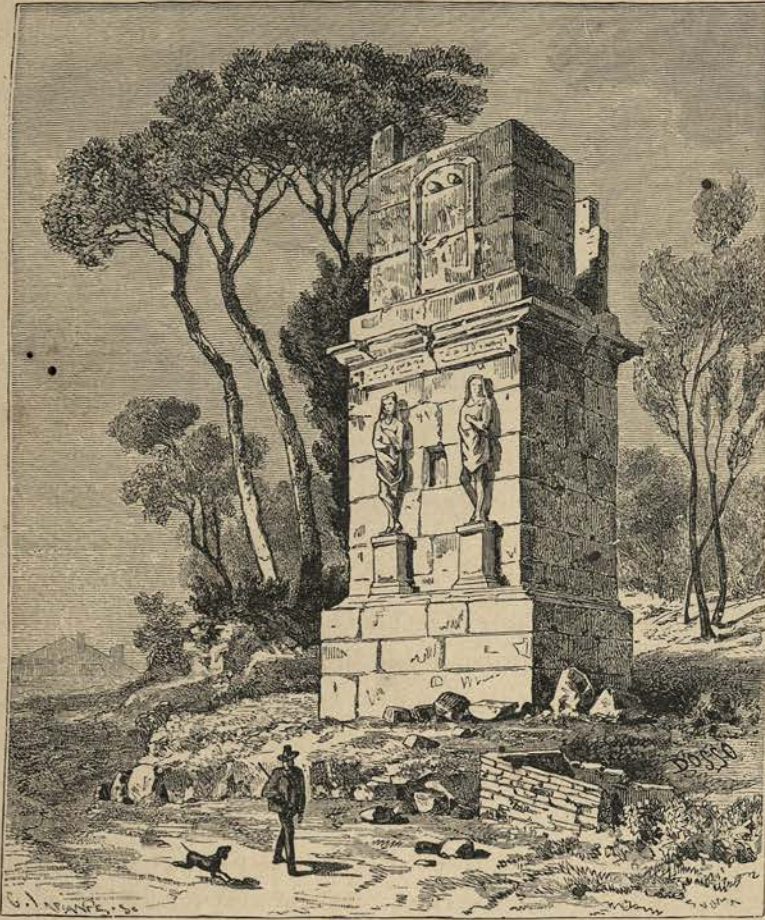
I.—OPERATIONS IN SPAIN (218—205).

THAT which Hannibal had attempted in Italy, the three Scipios had accomplished in Spain. In 207 the Romans were almost masters of this peninsula. But we must return to a period a few years earlier.

When Cornelius Scipio had found himself forestalled by Hannibal at the passage of the Rhone, he entrusted to his brother Cnæus his two legions that the latter might occupy the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, a region which, recently subject to Rome and formerly in alliance with her, would doubtless show a friendly disposition. Marseilles, which had covered this coast with her trading posts, seconded Scipio with all her strength, and the skill of her pilots rendered him at once master of the sea. A single battle gained Cissa, threw the Carthaginians back across the Ebro (218), and the destruction of Hasdrubal's fleet at the mouth of that river permitted the Romans to ravage all the coast as far as the Straits. These first successes brought defections all over the country; a hundred and twenty cities joined themselves to the Romans, and the Celtiberians, the bravest and most numerous tribe in Spain, fighting alone, defeated Hasdrubal twice. As far as Bætica there were revolts, especially when the Romans, having seized the Spanish hostages, detained in Saguntum, sent them away with honour to their own cities.

His term as consul having expired, Cornelius returned to join his brother in Spain, with eight thousand men and thirty vessels. Strong in their united skill, they drove Hasdrubal back from the Ebro, at the time when Hannibal, after Cannæ, called his brother into Italy. Four victories, with the capture of Castulo and of

Saguntum, confirmed these earlier successes (215), and the offer of pay to the Celtiberian youth brought numerous auxiliaries to their banners (214). But in Spain, as in Italy, the nature of the country, bristling with mountains and with strongholds, made the war endless. The Scipios, weary with their rapid marches from



Tomb of the Scipios (so-called) near Tarragona.¹

the Ebro to the Bætis, formed the plan of raising dissensions in Africa to prevent the sending of succour to their adversaries. Three centurions, sent to Syphax, king of western Numidia, gained him to the Roman alliance, disciplined his troops, and caused him to gain a victory over the Carthaginians (213). But this success

¹ De Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*. The ruin is Roman, but could not have been the tomb of those whose name it bears.

turned against them; Carthage, seeing herself menaced, took alarm. A numerous army, led by Masinissa, son of another Numidian king, defeated Syphax, drove him from his kingdom, and then crossed over into Spain, whence the danger had come. The Scipios, threatened by three armies, now saw the Suesetoni and the Celtiberians turn against them. The better to oppose so many adversaries the two brothers now separated. This was the cause of their ruin; attacked successively and by forces superior to their own, they perished (212). They deserve to share with Fabius the glory of having saved their country, and Rome preserved a grateful memory of their career. Cicero speaks of them as the thunderbolts of war.

Spain seemed to be lost; but Carthage had too many generals to be able to act with unity and decision. The fragments of the two Roman armies, gathered behind the Ebro by a young knight, Marcius by name, had time to recover their courage. Being attacked by Hasdrubal and by Mago, Marcius defeated them both in succession, and followed them across the Ebro;¹ and when in the summer of 211 Nero, after the fall of Capua, came with 13,000 men to take the command, which the senate was not willing to leave in the hands of a man elected by the soldiers,² Hasdrubal was already driven back into Bætica.³ Shut up in a defile, he deluded Nero by negotiations, and made his escape. But a new general arrived, Publius Scipio, son of Cornelius.

With the lapse of time the life of the conqueror of Hasdrubal has become a marvellous legend. His birth, they say, like that of Alexander, was attended by prodigies, and he himself gave colour to these vague stories of a divine origin by passing long hours in the temple of Jupiter. All his words were serious, all his actions seemed to be under the guidance of the gods. No man received so many revelations by visions of the night or inspirations from on high. For him the oracles spoke. At the Trebia he is believed to have saved his father's life; after Cannæ

¹ [These defeats are probably much exaggerated by the Roman historians.—*Ed.*]

² Marcius in his letters had taken the title of pro-prætor, and the example was a dangerous one.

³ Polybius, who ranks very high the merits of Hasdrubal, accounts for his defeats by the confusion and difficulties produced by the sending of other generals from Carthage.

he is said to have constrained at the dagger's point one Metellus and other young nobles to swear that they would not abandon Italy. When he presented himself as a candidate for the office of ædile the tribunes objected that he had not attained the required age. "I am old enough," he said, "if the Romans choose to elect me." This patrician was a *grand seigneur*, who never abased himself to flatter the people, yet was able to obtain from them, even while he defied them, all that he desired. As no other man sought the command of the army in Spain, he asked for it and obtained it, although he was but twenty-seven years of age, and had never filled any very important public offices. The two republics were accustomed to consider the government of this province as a right belonging in one family of each, which among the Carthaginians was the family of Barca, among the Romans that of Scipio.

Polybius, who believes neither in chance nor in the assistance of the gods, but has great faith in human reason, treats with contempt the superstitious legends current about Scipio. He received from Lælius, the friend and comrade in arms of the hero of Zama, the most intimate details about him, and regards him as a wise man, who made all things, even popular credulity, serve his purpose. "His ingenuity," he says, "in representing his designs as inspired by the gods gave his army confidence in undertaking the most difficult tasks."²

Upon arriving in Spain, Scipio gained the good will of the army by loading with honours and praises their former leader, Marcius, and in order to begin brilliantly, meditated an enterprise which should draw all eyes upon him. Without revealing his design to any one but Lælius, commander of his fleet, he set out from the banks of the Ebro with twenty-four thousand infantry



Scipio Africanus.¹

¹ From one of the two busts in green basalt in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 3,290—1, which reproduces the scars of wounds received by Scipio.

² Polybius, x. 2.

and twenty-five hundred horse; and after seven days' march he pointed out to his army the towers of New Carthage, the arsenal and store-house of the Barcas. Defended on the one side by the citadel and lofty walls, and on the other by the sea and a lagoon, the place was deemed impregnable. Scipio took it in broad day at the first assault. Some fishermen at Tarragona had informed him that at low tide, especially when the wind blew from the north, the lagoon was fordable.¹ While a sharp attack drew the besieged towards the walls which defended the city on the land side, the hour of low tide came, the water in the lagoon sank away, and five hundred men easily crossed it and scaled the wall beyond. The north wind began to blow just at the moment, and the whole army regarded this as a miracle; Boreas and Neptune, they said, had fought with them (210).²

The soldiers from the fleet rivalled the legionaries in courage: a centurion and a marine disputed the honour of having been the first to scale the wall. They each received a mural crown in presence of the whole army. The rest received large rewards. To Lælius, his friend, who had commanded the fleet, Scipio gave a golden wreath and thirty oxen, with which a banquet was made on board the vessels. But he did not suffer the soldiers to forget their duty in the midst of victory. Every day he drilled them; the fleet had a sham fight or the galleys had races; the land force fought together with blunt javelins; and Polybius describes at great length the difficult manœuvres which he required the cavalry to perform that he might secure to man and horse the best use of the strength of each, and to the squadron rapidity of evolution and power of united action.

The Spanish hostages in the hands of the Carthaginians were detained in the city of Carthagera; Scipio treated them kindly and gave presents to all of them, even to the children; to the boys swords, and bracelets to the girls; then he sent them

¹ At certain points of the Mediterranean coast the tide is very marked, and on the flatness of the shore and the direction of the wind depends the height to which it may rise. In the Adriatic [at Venice] and on the western coast of Sicily it rises from three to nine feet.

² Polybius (x. 2) had himself visited Carthagera, and Lælius had related to him, among other details, that during the assault Scipio went everywhere, accompanied by three soldiers who shielded him with their bucklers against the arrows shot from the wall, and thus the general, seeing everything, could act upon each emergency without delay.

away to their own people. "Some of the soldiers," says Polybius, "who knew their general's weakness, had brought to him a young girl of remarkable beauty." Liyy here interposes a love story, a graceful interlude in the midst of this stern history, where the



Great Discus of Massive Silver, called Scipio's Buckler.¹

public man conceals so entirely the private man, where the passions of the individual remain hidden under the *paludamentum*

¹ This discus, one of the treasures of the *Cabinet de France*, weighs over ten kilograms, and was long famous as Scipio's buckler. It does not, however, represent that general restoring his betrothed to Allucius. The subject, taken from the *Iliad*, is the restitution of Briseis to Achilles by Agamemnon, who, placed in the midst of the three porticos, and bearing the sceptre of the king of kings, is the main figure of the scene. Ulysses harangues the son of Peleus, who makes a gesture of assent; Nestor leaning on his staff, and Diomedes listening to the king of Ithaca. A table bears the gifts offered to the hero by Agamemnon, and weapons are scattered before Achilles. No. 2,875 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

of the soldier or the senatorial toga. "Scipio having enquired in respect to the country and family of the young captive," says the historian, "was informed that she was betrothed to Allucius, chief of the Celtiberians. He sent for Allucius, and said to him: 'I present this captive to you, a gift worthy of us both, on the sole condition that you become the friend of the Romans. Know well that there exists upon earth to-day no people whose hatred should be more dreaded by you and yours, or whose friendship should be more desired.'" The young chief, overwhelmed with joy, swore by all the gods to pay his debt of gratitude. The father and mother of the young girl wished to constrain Scipio to accept a considerable sum as ransom. He had the money laid at his feet, then said to Allucius: "Besides the dowry that you receive from your father-in-law, accept this from me."

I do not know that the details of this story are authentic, but the fact of the restitution of the hostages certainly is so, and for history that suffices. Allucius, returning to his own country, extolled to his companions the virtues of Scipio, "a man like the immortal gods, who has come into Spain to subjugate all men by his arms and by his clemency." He gathered together his dependents, and a few days later, at the head of 1,400 picked horsemen, returned to join the army of Scipio.¹

The conduct of Scipio was politic, and honourable, which is also a form of good policy; moreover, this favourite of the gods desired to show himself superior to human weaknesses, and to serve his country's interests by this contrast with the arrogance, the exactions, and the outrages of the Carthaginian generals.² As a result, the principal Spanish chiefs, Edeco, Mandonius, and Indibilis brought him their troops, and, in their admiration, they gave him the title of king.

Still Scipio hesitated; the three armies, the three generals, who had conquered and killed his father and his uncle, might again unite. The one nearest to him, Hasdrubal, was encamped between Bæcula and Castulo, in the valley of the Bætis (Guadalquivir); he remained there an entire year, without calling to him his colleagues, and without making any movement to prevent

¹ Livy, xxvi. 50.

² Polybius, ix. 11.

defections, which multiplied daily. Scipio marched against him in the summer of the year 209, and defeated him in a battle which cost the Carthaginians more than 20,000 men killed or taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this, Hasdrubal traversed the whole of Spain, and, deprived of his army, he accomplished that which as a conqueror he had not been able to do, he crossed the Pyrenees, Scipio no longer disputing with him the way. According to Polybius, Hasdrubal had for a long time been preparing this expedition: before his defeat was entire he made his escape with his elephants, his treasure, and a few soldiers,¹ made a detour through the valley of the Tagus in order to mislead Scipio's pursuit, and by the western Pyrenees came down into Gaul, where he remained in concealment for more than a year.² Scipio and Rome forgot him. But the storm gathered slowly, and when in 207 Hasdrubal came over the Alps with 52,000 fighting men, Scipio was accused of having let loose upon Rome a danger which he had not dared himself to encounter. The assertion was a calumny, for he had reason to believe that he had provided for everything in guarding by means of an army of 8,000 men strongly encamped at Suero the eastern passes of the Pyrenees, that is to say, the only road which appeared practicable for an army seeking to advance upon Italy. He had, moreover, lost track of the fugitive of Bæcula only by going in pursuit of adversaries who for the moment seemed more dangerous. It will be always laid to his charge, however, that he was neither able to penetrate nor to prevent the designs of Hasdrubal; but the laurels of Zama have hidden this fault.

Facing him remained, then, three other generals, Masinissa, Mago, and Hasdrubal Gisco. A fourth was on the way, Hanno, but this general was surprised and defeated by Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant. This success, the taking of Oringis by Lucius Scipio, and Scipio's own victory at Ilipa over 70,000 Carthaginians, reduced the Punic possessions in Spain to the city of Gades only

¹ x. 39, 7 and 8. Cf. Livy, xxvii. 19. The battle of Bæcula, in this case, must have been given to deceive Scipio [and no doubt the Punic losses are greatly exaggerated.—*Ed.*]

² According to Polybius (xi. 1) he must have crossed the Pyrenees at the end of the summer of 209, and he did not arrive in Italy until the spring of 207. Livy speaks of his celerity of movement, but also of expeditions of Roman and Massaliot emissaries into the interior of Gaul to observe him.

(206), and Scipio now began to think of Africa. Numidia, adjacent to the Carthaginian territory, was divided between two rival princes, Masinissa and Syphax. The former, who had served in Spain with the Carthaginians, felt his fidelity give way under so many heavy reverses, and opened negotiations secretly with Scipio. Syphax, on the contrary, had also fought for Rome, but his misfortunes rendered him circumspect. For the sake of deciding the two kings and uniting them against Carthage, Scipio did not hesitate to go over himself into Africa. At the court of the barbarian king he met Hasdrubal, who had come on the same errand, and he was able to get the better of him by his address and persuasive eloquence. Returning into Spain, he made haste to bring the war to an end; he took what towns remained in the enemy's power, and Gades, being abandoned by Mago, whom Carthage sent into Liguria to renew the attempt made by Hasdrubal, opened to him her gates.

At this juncture is placed an event which was of no importance as regards the war, but of very great consequence in the history of Rome—a military sedition. We have already noticed the case of a tribune whom Regulus was forced to threaten with rods because he refused after Ecnomus to go into Africa. In 253 it had been necessary to degrade 400 knights on account of their insubordination, and a little before this a legion in Rhegium had revolted. This time it was part of the army in Spain, the 8,000 men in camp at Sucro, guarding the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, who upon a rumour of Scipio's death broke out in revolt. They drove their tribunes out of the camp, and gave the rods of office to common soldiers; they believed that Spain was about to fall into disorder and promised themselves an opportunity for plunder. A delay in respect to their pay served as a pretext; but Scipio was not dead, and the rumour of his restoration to health was enough to stop the insurrections upon which the revolting troops depended. He sent to the camp seven tribunes with no message of anger whatever; perhaps he sent word to the rebels that their services had not been sufficiently recompensed, and it was certain that money was due them; the general was collecting it among the allies; already at Carthage the treasury of the army was receiving the result of the tributes; if

the troops would go to Carthageria they should be paid. ••Hither they came, confident in their numbers and re-assured against any severity by the rumour that the rest of the troops were to be sent away under Silanus for an expedition against the Laletani. Upon their approach the army at Carthageria did indeed march out, but at the gates they stopped, and while the rebels convoked on the morrow, unarmed, in the market place, find Scipio seated on his tribunal, the army returns; they close all means of egress, and noiselessly surround the Forum. Scipio addresses the mutineers at considerable length to allow the troops to make their dispositions; first in the tone of a friend reproaching them, •then with the displeasure of a chief whose confidence has been betrayed, finally with the severity of the pro-consul and the indignation of the patrician who has seen the gods, the auspices, the majesty of the law, the sacred rights of country violated. "There must be blood to expiate crimes like these!" At these words a great clash of arms is heard, the shock of the swords and bucklers in the army of Silanus, and the herald announces that a council condemns thirty-five of the guilty. Enticed the night before to houses where they had been stupified with liquor, they are seized without difficulty. Dragged naked into the midst, they are bound and scourged and then put to death. After this, the dead bodies being removed and the place purified by the priests, each soldier is required to renew his oath before the military tribunes, and there receives the arrears of his pay. Not a cry nor a murmur rises from the affrighted cohorts.¹ The sedition is at an end, but this outbreak reveals the change that is going on in military manners; and constant war will accelerate this transformation of the citizen-soldier, who defended his country into the mercenary soldier, who will presently sell her.

Scipio was then free to return to Rome, and to solicit, or rather to accept the consulship (206). But before quitting Spain he founded for his veterans, in Bætica, that colony of Italica whence came the two most distinguished emperors of Rome, Trajan and Hadrian.

He also conceived the idea of making a public impression

¹ Livy, xxviii. 24-29.

by a funeral ceremony in honour of his father and uncle. He announced that he would give a gladiatorial display at Carthage. "At these combats there were seen no athletes of servile condition, nor any of those mercenaries who sell their blood. All were voluntary and unpaid combatants; some sent by the princes of the country, wishing to prove the native valour of their nations; others were eager to descend into the arena to gain their generals' favour; others still, for the mere pleasure of the strife. Some already engaged in disputes agreed to leave the matter to be then decided by the sword. Nor were these obscure men, but noble and illustrious personages, among others Corbis and Orsua, cousins, who disputed for the sovereignty of a city named Ibses, and who agreed to settle their quarrel in the lists. Corbis was the elder, but Orsua was the son of the late king. Scipio attempted to reconcile them, but they replied that they would have no other judge than the god Mars. Corbis was proud of his strength, Orsua of his youth; each preferred to die fighting rather than to submit to the authority of a rival. The elder by his skill triumphed easily over the fiery impetuosity of the younger."¹

II.—CONSULSHIP OF SCIPIO (205); BATTLE OF ZAMA (202).

With the battle of Metaurus ended in Italy the second Punic war. Hannibal had relied upon Syracuse, and it was taken; upon Philip, and he had been defeated;² upon the Gauls, and they had remained indifferent; upon Spain, and it had been conquered; upon Hasdrubal, and he was dead. His allies in Italy failed him also, for the prestige of his fame was fading away, while every day increased his necessities. Bruttium, so poor a country, was becoming exhausted in supplying his mercenaries, and everywhere, as at Locri, defections were planned. He felt himself surrounded by enemies, and hoped to control them by cruelty. The African blood showed itself. At Arpi he had caused the wife and children of a chief who had gone back to the Romans to be put to death

¹ Livy, xxviii. 21.

² This very year (205) Philip sued for peace.

by fire. At Herdonea, at Terina, at Nuceria, he had driven out the people and burned the city. He did the same with all places that he could not keep. Remaining motionless in his camp, the Hannibal of earlier years could only be recognised by the prudence and anxiety of the Roman consuls and the discipline that he knew how to maintain, despite his reverses, in an army which only the hope of plunder seemed able to render united and obedient.

Meanwhile Carthage herself was menaced. The Romans had closed against her successively all the countries whence she had been accustomed to recruit her soldiers: Gaul, whose coasts were defended by Marseilles; Spain and Sicily, whence her armies had been driven out; Numidia, whose alliance had been gained by Scipio. Every spring the Roman fleet of Lilybæum ravaged Africa. In 207 the territory of Utica had been ravaged, and a Carthaginian fleet destroyed. Finally, Scipio turned against Carthage the two Numidian kings. The time for reprisals had come, and Cannæ was to be avenged. Scipio said as much publicly: "We must go over into Africa; Hannibal, driven into a corner in Bruttium, protected by mountains and impassable forests, will make a resistance there, the limits of which we cannot foresee; an attack upon Carthage will give him an honourable pretext, which perhaps he desires, to quit Italy."¹ But Fabius was determined that *his* method should have the honour of the final victory; and the young consul was sent into Sicily without fleet or army.

The common people often see and understand that which their wise men do not see and do not understand; with that admirable instinct which is only good sense applied to simple and great things, they had recognised the conqueror of Hannibal, and applauded his designs. What the senate denied him the allies gave. Etruria,² once of doubtful fidelity, offered an entire fleet, an immense quantity of arms, iron, cordage, and provisions; Umbria, the country of the Sabines, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Marrucini, promised soldiers; and the singular spectacle was seen of a fleet

¹ *Jam hoc ipsum præcogens animo præparaverat ante naves.* (Livy, xxx. 20.)

² It appears that at the approach of Mago there were yet some disturbances in Etruria (see Livy, xxx. 3). Such was the zeal of the allies that forty days sufficed to cut down the trees and construct the vessels. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*; xvi. 39.)

and an army furnished spontaneously by the subjects of Rome, when Rome herself gave to her consul not a single soldier nor a single ship.

This unfriendliness of the senate followed Scipio into Sicily. Having found an opportunity to take Locri from Hannibal, he left Pleminius there as governor. The length of the war had, as was the case in France at the close of the First Empire, inspired the soldiers of the regular army with the utmost contempt for the peaceful dwellers in cities. The garrison at Locri, and Pleminius with them, disgraced themselves by a thousand excesses. The enemies of Scipio accused him of connivance. At Syracuse, they said, surrounded by philosophers and rhetoricians, he was forgetting Hannibal and the army. In this Greek, shod with sandals and wearing the chlamys, who could recognise the Roman consul? A commission was appointed to examine into his conduct, and two tribunes were sent with them to arrest him in the name of the people if these rumours should prove well founded. At Locri it was decided that Pleminius alone was guilty; at Syracuse Scipio exhibited the fleet, the magazines, the immense preparations for a descent upon the African coast, and sent away his judges full of admiration and hope.¹ At the same time Rome had sent deputies to Delphi to make an offering to Apollo, and the Pythia, speaking in the interest of Rome, had said: "An important victory awaits the Roman people."

All Sicily gathered at Lilybæum on the day of the departure (204). Scipio, on the deck of the prætorian vessel and overlooking thence his fleet and the immense crowd in the harbour, offered a solemn sacrifice, ending it, amidst silence of all, with this prayer: "Gods and goddesses of land and sea, I pray you, I implore you, let my command be fortunate for me, for the Roman people, for the allies, for my soldiers. Grant that our plans succeed, and bring us back to our firesides in health, in strength, and as victors." Then he cast into the sea the entrails of the sacrifice, and gave orders for departure. A favourable wind filled the sails; by noon the land was lost to sight. Four hundred transports

¹ In presence of the great events then preparing, the scandal caused by the conduct of Livius Salinator during his censorship is forgotten (Livy, xxix. 37). Moreover, historians seem to have singularly exaggerated this character. His reply to Fabius before the battle of Metaurus cannot be historical. (Livy, xxviii. 40.)

carried provisions for forty-five days and thirty thousand soldiers, among them the veterans of Cannæ; only forty war-ships escorted them. Upon the voyage they met not one Carthaginian vessel, and yet, after Zama, Carthage surrendered 400 vessels of war! Where were they when this [helpless] fleet advanced, bringing her destruction?

Before embarking Scipio had received news of the defection of Syphax, whom Hasdrubal had gained over by giving him in marriage Sophonisba, his daughter, and of the defeat of Masinissa, driven out by Syphax from his hereditary kingdom. The adventures of this gallant Numidian show us ancient Africa, the same then that we see it to-day. Tracked upon a mountain by Bocchar, an officer of Syphax, Masinissa escapes him. Again, shut in a valley where Bocchar guards the egress, he flees across the precipices and gains the plains of Clypea, whither Bocchar pursues him, overtakes, and surrounds him. Masinissa is wounded, but escapes with four horsemen; Bocchar however has recognised him, despatches all his force in pursuit, cuts off his route to the desert, and brings him to bay on the bank of a deep torrent. The fugitives dash into the water; two are carried away by the rapid flood, and Bocchar, who believes the prince has perished, returns to claim his reward from Syphax. In the meanwhile, Masinissa, hidden in a cavern, is recovering from his wounds, while his two companions forage for his support, and as soon as he can again mount his horse quits his retreat boldly, reappears among the Mas-sylians, incites them to revolt, and once more a king, attacks at once Carthage and his rival. A new defeat drives him again to the desert. He now flees, escaping from the hot pursuit of Vermina, son of Syphax, until his enemy, wearied out, gives up the chase; then Masinissa reaches the lesser Syrtis, and there awaits the arrival of the Romans (204).

Scipio had just landed at the Pulchrum Promontorium when he perceived a group of dusty horsemen riding up. It was Masinissa, who had crossed the whole of the Carthaginian territory to join him. Scipio had expected the assistance of two kings, but one was unfriendly, and the other a fugitive from his kingdom. This fugitive however, was the best horseman in Africa, and the two Numidias resounded with the fame of his brilliant courage;

Scipio welcomed him with respect, counting upon his services to make an important diversion. Two cavalry engagements, the ravaging of the country, and the blockade of Utica inaugurated with but little *éclat* this expedition into Africa, which was not strengthened as had been the case in the time of Regulus by the defection of the allies of Carthage to the Roman allegiance, a change in their sentiments doubtless arising from a change of conduct towards them on the part of the Carthaginian senate. The following year was more fruitful (203). Hasdrubal and Syphax had gathered fifty thousand men.¹ Under cover of negotiations Scipio reconnoitred their camps, which were huts of reeds and straw; during the night he set fire to them, while his legions surrounded the encampment; three thousand men only escaped;² a new army of thirty thousand Carthaginians and Numidians were destroyed in another engagement. The time had come for employing Masinissa; Scipio sent him with Lælius in pursuit of Syphax, already twice defeated. The Massylii hastened to join their prince, who challenged his rival to single combat, and the Roman infantry had but to show themselves to put to flight the enemy, already weakened by the furious onslaught of the Massylii. Syphax, his capital city Cirta, with Sophonisba and all his treasure, fell into the power of Masinissa. The latter had formerly been a suitor to Hasdrubal's daughter, and he now hoped that he might shield her from Roman displeasure by making her his wife. But Scipio remembered that it was she who had detached Syphax from the Roman alliance, and he sternly demanded that she should be given up to him. Whereupon the Numidian king sent her a cup of poison. How much of truth is there in this romantic story, which Livy places amid his recitals of a pitiless war? The Numidian king was ambitious to add to the number of his wives her whom Carthage might have called "the daughter of the Republic," and once having entered the royal harem, there was no other exit for Sophonisba but death.

This important expedition secured to Scipio the support of all the Numidians. In vain would Hannibal return to Africa;

¹ Livy says 93,000 men, but taking the number of dead, of prisoners, and of fugitives, we find but 50,000.

² According to Appian, only the camp of Hasdrubal was burned.

this cavalry to which he owed his victories was now turned against him. The Carthaginian senate had in fact recalled him, while to gain time and to delay Scipio, already master of Tunis, it gave up a few prisoners, and despatched an embassy to Rome.¹ The Carthaginians had at this time two armies in Italy, under command of Hasdrubal and Mago; the latter, sent out in 203 to carry on Hasdrubal's expedition, had held his ground two years in the mountains of Liguria, and had then been wounded in a great battle fought with the Romans (203). Mago was at Genoa ill from his wound, when he received the order to return to Carthage; he embarked with his army and died upon the way, near Sardinia.²

For five years Hannibal had not attempted one of those bold enterprises which had so often disconcerted the Romans, and he allowed the consuls to boast of the re-taking of several small cities as if they had been so many victories. But woe to him who should venture to molest the Carthaginian in his lair! The hero turned and struck a blow, and then fell back into inaction. Sad and gloomy, he felt himself conquered by something mightier than his own genius, the institutions and virtues of Rome. Over armies, over generals, he had been victorious, but this people had something of the power of the ocean. In vain had he driven it back; like the sea, returning slowly, invincibly, it had rallied. Already he had not room to stand, the rising tide threatened him, and mounting higher and higher, reached the walls of Carthage and assailed its gates.



The Lacinian Juno.³

In leaving Italy Hannibal left behind him cruel and insulting farewells. In the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno he erected a tablet, on which was inscribed in Greek and in Punic the story of his victories, which was read by Polybius, and around the temple he put to death all the Italian mercenaries who refused to follow him. Tradition relates also that he had the design of

¹ Livy accuses the Carthaginians of having violated the truce by intercepting a convoy of three hundred vessels, and also allowing three envoys of Scipio to be insulted and almost slain by the populace.

² [This brilliant leader has received but scanty justice in history.—*Ed.*]

³ Head of Lacinian Juno on a coin of Crotona.

carrying off the golden statue of the goddess, whose angry countenance arrested the sacrilege.¹ For some time his vessels had awaited him; and he now sailed towards the lesser Syrtis. Scipio had landed at Pulchrum Promontorium, a name of good augury; the first object beheld by Hannibal upon the African coast was a ruined tomb. People and soldiers alike read the future in these presages (203).

Scipio was eager to finish the war, for he feared that each spring might bring out to him a successor. No one had been envious of his command in Spain, it was not long since his hopes had been esteemed idle; but Fabius was now dead, and the new consuls worried the senate and the tribunes with their importunities for the province of Africa. With that equity which the people show in important circumstances, the thirty-five Roman tribes would have no other general in Africa but the man who had reconquered Spain and forced Hannibal to leave Italy.²

Before the battle which was to decide the destinies of the world, Hannibal, in a conference with Scipio, desired peace. But peace without a defeat of the great Carthaginian would have been inglorious and of brief duration: Scipio refused, and hastened to fight, to take advantage of the 4,000 cavalry which Masinissa had just brought to him, as well as to anticipate the arrival of succour promised by Vermina to Hannibal.³

The two armies were of equal strength in respect to infantry; but Scipio's cavalry was more numerous than that of Hannibal. All the art of war and all the results of experience on either side were brought into play (Oct. 19, 202).⁴ On Hannibal's part there were no more of those stratagems which had deceived so many consuls; but his arrangements were admirable. His poorest troops were upon the wings, to occupy the Numidians

¹ Cic., *de Div.*, i. 24.

² Cf. in Livy (xxx. *passim*) the efforts of the consuls Claudius and Lentulus to obtain Africa; the senate always referred the affair to the people.

³ Appian says (*Libyca*, viii. 34) that Hannibal massacred 4,000 Massylli who had come over to him on suspicion of their treason, and Livy (xxx. 36) relates that a few days after the battle of Zama Vermina ventured to attack Scipio, who killed 16,000 of his men.

⁴ On that day, according to Zonaras, there was an eclipse of the sun, which astronomical calculations prove to have been visible in the north of Africa. Livy (xxx. 29) places Hannibal at Zama and Scipio near the city of Naraggara. According to Appian (*Libyca*, viii. 36) there was at Zama some days earlier a cavalry engagement favourable to the Romans.

and to attract them in pursuit far from the field of battle. His van consisted of a formidable line of eighty elephants; behind them the Gallic and Ligurian mercenaries to blunt the Roman swords and break the ranks of the legions. His main army, Carthaginians and Africans, were drawn up to receive the attack of troops disturbed and fatigued by the preceding combat, and finally 200 yards behind, the old bands from Italy, his most devoted soldiers, ready to complete the victory or else to flee with him into Carthage, that he might not return thither undefended. But Scipio had so placed his legionaries that opposed to the elephants were bands of bowmen who filled the air with their arrows. The mercenaries, broken and driven back upon the second line, carried disorder into it; meanwhile Scipio had halted his soldiers, reformed their ranks, and now hurled them into the second combat in as good order as if they were marching out of camp. During this terrible shock Lælius and Masinissa, instead of allowing themselves to be led away in pursuit of the enemy's cavalry, had brought their Numidians in upon Hannibal's rear. He fled from the field, covered by 20,000 of his soldiers,¹ as far as Hadrumentum and thence to Carthage, which he re-entered thirty-six years from the time when he had left there with his father, Hamilcar. He returned a fugitive, bringing back as the fruit of so many wars and victories and conquests only a humiliating peace. Some no doubt, would have willingly devoted the ruined general to the fate which so many Carthaginian chiefs had suffered the day after a defeat. But the general who had so long held fixed upon himself the admiration of the world could not be treated like an obscure chief. The Carthaginian people loved the man who had borne their name so high, and they would not have permitted the opposite faction, after depriving him of the means of victory, to call him to account for his defeat.

The veterans of Cannæ had brilliantly restored the honour of the Roman arms. From Zama Scipio returned to Tunis, and here he met and destroyed an army which Vermina, the son of Syphax, was bringing to the aid of Hannibal. In Scipio's council there were some officers who talked of not leaving Africa till the

¹ [According to most historians his veterans were cut to pieces.—*Ed.*]

name of Carthage should be effaced from the list of nations. But the enterprise was long and difficult; others later would profit by their achievements; already one of the consuls of the year 202, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was preparing to strike a last blow at the hereditary enemy. Scipio resolved to treat. Perhaps also noble thoughts may have occupied this great soul. Since Carthage was no longer formidable, she at once became useful. While Hannibal and Carthage survived, Rome could not give way to the dangerous intoxication of victory. She must needs keep her Roman virtues, her discipline, her courage, against this peril ever liable to spring up again. This policy was, according to Appian,¹ the favourite one of the Scipios, and they doubtless owed it to the head of their house.

Scipio at first concluded an armistice of three months, with the payment by Carthage of 25,000 pounds of silver; she engaged moreover, to furnish, as long as the truce should last, pay and subsistence for the Roman army. At Rome the people compelled the senate to allow to the conqueror of Zama the honour of bringing this war to an end, and ten commissioners were associated with him to aid him with their counsels. He did not require the extradition of Hannibal, and made the following terms: Carthage should retain her own laws and her possessions in Africa; she should deliver up all prisoners and deserters, all her ships except ten, all her elephants, and should never train any in future; she should not make war even in Africa without the permission of Rome, and should not again employ mercenaries; the sum of 10,000 talents should be paid to Rome in fifty years; a hundred hostages should be given up, aged from fourteen years to thirty; she should indemnify Masinissa, and receive him as an ally.²

At Carthage one of the senators dared to complain of these conditions; Hannibal dragged him from the platform. When the assembly murmured: "I have always lived in camps," the rude soldier said, "and I do not understand your city manners." Then he proved the necessity of submitting. The ambassadors set off

¹ *Libyca*, viii. 69.

² Polybius, xv. 18; Livy, xxx. 36. When they brought to Rome the first instalment of the tribute they attempted to pass debased coinage; their pieces had a fourth of alloy. (Livy, xxxii. 2.)

for Rome. The senate accepted the conditions to which Scipio had agreed, and sent two heralds to Africa with the sacred stones, the vervains, and the consecrated plant which grows at the Capitol.¹ Scipio received 4,000 prisoners and a large number of deserters; the latter were put to death by the axe or by crucifixion, a punishment at that time unknown at Rome, but habitual at Carthage and in the East. Five hundred vessels were delivered over to him, which he burned at sea, in sight of Carthage, thus indicating that Rome did not desire for herself that maritime power of which she had just deprived her rival. The tribute came last. On seeing the grief of the Carthaginians at parting with their gold Hannibal began to laugh. "When they took our ships and our arms it was time to weep," he said; "the loss which costs you the most regret is the least of your misfortunes." Carthage was disarmed, and that she might never recover herself, Scipio fixed at her side an indefatigable enemy, Masinissa, to whom, in presence of his troops, he gave the title of king, with the territory of his ancestors, the strong city of Cirta, and a part of the kingdom of Syphax, the rest however, being given to Vermina, that the presence of that mortal enemy might in turn ensure Masinissa's fidelity.

All things being thus settled in Africa, Scipio returned to Lilybæum. Thence he sent his army to Rome on board of the fleet, he himself returning by land, traversing the whole length of Italy, in the midst of an immense concourse of the Italian peoples, as if to efface the shame of so many battle-fields, by exhibiting him to whom the genius of Hannibal had at last been obliged to succumb. His entry into Rome was the most splendid triumph. He brought home for the treasury 123,000 pounds of silver, and each soldier had received 400 *ases*. Syphax followed the chariot.² He was the first king condemned to this shame. But soon Perseus and Jugurtha were to tread this *via dolorosa*, which was for Rome the triumphal path; later Vercingetorix the Gaul, Juba, the daughter of the Ptolemies, and the queen of Palmyra. Duillius had only an inscription upon a rostral

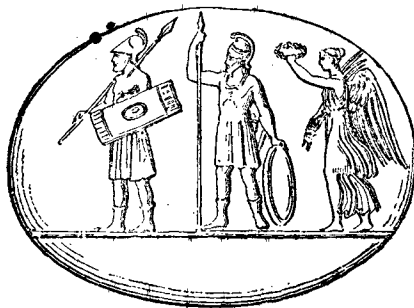
¹ Livy, xxx. 43.

² According to Livy, contradicted however by Polybius, who must be the better informed, Syphax had died in prison before the triumph. Polybius says he died at Tibur, five years later. The veterans of Scipio received lands in Lucania and Apulia.

column; Scipio received the name of Africanus, and a *plebiscitum* decreed that his statue, placed in the temple of Jupiter with the triumphal robe and laurel crown, should be brought forth every year for a new triumph on the anniversary of the day. To these almost divine honours it was desired to add power, and in the delirium of her gratitude Rome offered to Scipio the consulship and dictatorship for life.¹

But this people was unjust towards itself. It was the people who was the real conqueror in this terrible strife. Very early in the war the gods failed her, and we shall see later on that of this there remained a bitter recollection. But Rome never failed to herself; she was her own providence, and secured her salvation by wisdom in council, by discipline in action, and by constancy in sacrifice: virile virtues like these are greater than Hannibal and stronger than Scipio. The crowd however, feels the need of personifying its fortune in human form. To honour him who had conquered at the last hour Rome forgot her laws; she offered to Scipio that which later she allowed Caesar to take, and it was a grave symptom of a new condition of minds, presaging interior revolutions. It is not enough to say that the victory of Zama finished the second Punic war: it began the conquest of the world.

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 56: *perpetuum consulem et dictatorem*.



Winged Victory crowning a warrior, who is preceded by another. From an ancient intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1545 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

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¹ Opposite the pages indicated.

² Representation of a sacrifice. The principal personage raises the left hand in sign of prayer, and with the right hand holds a cup, into which Victory pours wine. A young man cooks the flesh of the victim over the flame; on the other side of the altar, the flute-player, who ordinarily assists at sacrifices. All three are crowned with laurels and ivy. (*Atlas of the Inst. arch.*, vol. ix., pl. 53.)

³ This painting found in a tomb at Cervetri represents a funeral scene. A chief prays or worships before a woman clothed exactly the same as that of a sarcophagus which was found in the same sepulchral chamber. She is perhaps the image of the dead, and raises both hands in the attitude which commonly denotes invocation. (*Ibid.*, vol. vi., pl. 8.)

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